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## REPORTS TO ROME OF IRISH EDUCATION IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II


By

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To date there has been no definitive account written of Catholic education in Ireland for the period from 1509, when penal legislation first began to oppress, to Catholic Emancipation in 1829. We lack that study also for the sixteenth or seventeenth century and for sub-periods such as the reign of King Charles II. It is the purpose of the present study to examine the briefer period which commenced with the Stuart Restoration in 1660 and culminated in 1685, focusing upon a single aspect of Irish Catholic education—one necessarily of interest to those concerned with the question as a whole—what did Rome, the central and supreme authority of the Church, know about it? By drawing upon ecclesiastical correspondence between Rome and Ireland this question, at least in part, can be answered.

During this time the Irish Church remained under the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. As a consequence, correspondence went back and forth from bishops in Ireland and the congregation in Rome. Education was discussed because of its inherent importance to the progress of Catholicism, and because the congregation left no doubt of its own interest by making education a section of the "Relatio status," or yearly report sent in by each diocese. Since Propaganda's division of a vast judicature placed Ireland under its Brussels office,


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the Irish bishops also touched upon education in their correspondence with the internuncio there. At Rome, the Irish agent, or liaison officer, maintained by the hierarchy to facilitate necessary dealing with curial officials, occasionally received similar information, as did religious superiors there of the various communities participating in school work in Ireland.

From the time of the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, strict decrees regulated the education of future priests. While seminaries, properly speaking, were out of the question in Ireland, nonetheless, the bishops had always a zealous concern for this most important phase of Catholic education, and their correspondence detailed these efforts to Rome. Statutes of various Irish synods, forwarded for Roman approval, provided additional educational information. Individual letters, especially those of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, who maintained that no one wrote Rome more often, and John Brenan, Bishop of Waterford, who served apparently as something of an informal delegate for Propaganda, often devoted space to the school question.[1]

Of this correspondence between the Holy See and the Irish Church, only part has been published. Just how much, one measures only with difficulty, but an example offered by John Hagan, whose researches among Vatican manuscripts have enriched our knowledge of sources, may be indicative. Hagan, having made increasingly available material in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Council (whose original function of implementing the Tridentine decrees was gradually widened to include "the revision of the decrees of provincial Councils, questions affecting diocesan residence, cases of appeal from inferior tribunals, the matter of ecclesiastical immunity, and last, but not least, the hearing and examination of the Relatio Status . . ."), notes that among still unexplored archival material lie 7,000 huge manuscript volumes relating to cases concerning the Tridentine decrees.[2]

While the present study embraces only published material, it makes

[1] Patrick Cardinal Moran, *Memoir of the Venerable Oliver Plunket*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1895), p. 74—hereafter cited as *Memoir*. Patrick Canon Power (Ed.), *A Bishop of the Penal Times. Being Letters and Reports of John Brenan* [Irish Historical Documents, No. 3] (Cork, 1932), p. 41—hereafter cited as Brenan, *Letters*.

[2] J. Hagan, "Miscellanea Vaticano—Hibernica," *Archivium Hibernicum*, V (1916), 74.

available pertinent information and permits some historical evaluation of the Holy See's knowledge of Irish schools. What can be shown warrants, I think, the further judgment that additional archival material will greatly fill out the educational picture, not only for the reign of Charles II, but also for the entire sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well. This present article may, therefore, serve as a sort of pilot project for more ambitious studies able to utilize unpublished data, studies which in time may produce a definitive account of illegal Catholic education in Ireland.

As the Stuart Restoration opened, Irish Catholics felt quite hopeful, anticipating a restoration of their own interests, too, and expecting that education, after reaching its nadir during the Cromwellian regime (1649-1660), would share largely in the general amelioration. They did not yet understand how the pragmatic, libertine character of the monarch would be pivotal to all things and how, alas, despite Catholic loyalty during his days of exile, their fond hopes for education and for all else would flicker and die in the cold reality of unchanged anti-Catholic legislation and its enforcement, subdued but, nevertheless, continuing. Sporadic intentions to better Catholic education may, indeed, have crossed the royal consciousness, but Charles as a champion of lost causes would be woefully miscast. Actually, he never jeopardized a precarious political position to ease the pain of his Irish subjects. Their educational rights remained vaguely distant; the anti-Catholic power at court, and especially in the royal council and in parliament, loomed near and alarming. From the throne came forth proclamations periodically intensifying religio-educational persecution, and the Irish found little comfort in the proffered rationalization that parliament would otherwise enact stronger, irrevocable decrees.[3]

[3] Richard Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts* (London, 1916), III; E. A. D'Alton, *History of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1910), IV, 362 ff.; James A. Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1881-1885), I, 141 ff.; M. J. Brenan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), pp. 476 ff.; Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork, 1950); William P. Burke, *Irish Priests in Penal Times* (Waterford, 1914); James J. Auchmuty, *Irish Education, A Historical Survey* (Dublin, 1937); P. J. Dowling, *The Hedge Schools of Ireland* (Dublin, n.d.); Sister Anthony Marie Gallagher, O.S.F.; *Education in Ireland* (Washington, D. C., 1948); T. J. Corcoran, *State Policy in Education* (Dublin, 1916); Patrick Cardinal Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense: Being a Collection of Original Letters and Papers Illustrative of the History of the Irish Church from the Reformation to the Year 1800*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1874-1884).

Over education the king's Lord Lieutenant or Viceroy for Ireland wielded a power of life or death. Among the incumbents, Ormond (1661-1669; 1677-1685), Robartes (1669), Berkeley (1670-1672), and Essex (1672-1677), Berkeley alone helped Catholic education, while Ormond, the "wiliest and most bitter foe that Ireland and the Irish Church ever had," held sway for most of the period.[4] What educational efforts one can chronicle were possible only in the "greenwood" times—brief intervals when the all-out suppression wavered because of some fortuitous event or a momentary shifting of the *Zeitgeist*. After the 1673 proclamation against "convents, seminaries, and other Popish schools," there remained few intervals and the papal plot scare of 1678, with its bitter recriminations, set the tone to the end of the period.[5]

For any success education required a certain economic well-being among the Catholic people as well as assistance from a free Church. It remained the Catholic lot, however, to feel grinding poverty. On May 8, 1661, the Dublin parliament, which contained but one Catholic, refused to return 2,700,000 acres of Catholic land, municipal governments barred Catholic participation, and Catholic artisans met harassment in all cities. In London parliamentary action closed Eng-

[4] Brenan, *Letters*, p. 25. Robartes' few months were bitter for the Irish. Plunket had written, November 27, 1672, "Essex . . . nowise inferior to his predecessor [Berkeley] in his kindness towards me, as also towards the schools," *Memoir*, p. 115. Although Essex allowed Catholics a certain leniency until non-Catholics protested, he seems to have followed Ormond's divide-and-conquer policy toward the Catholic clergy. That severe persecution marked the lieutenancy of Essex from 1673 on remains a fact; however, the king and parliament expressly ordered that persecution, Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Bagwell, *op. cit.*, III, 115. Referring to his schools, Plunket wrote Propaganda, "while we have the present Viceroy [Berkeley] we may sail," *Memoir*, p. 79. Berkeley's orders (Sir Richard Cox, *A Letter to the Author of the History of Ireland*, in *Hibernica Anglicana* [London, 1690], II, 9-11) called for a harsh policy, but historians believe he had secret contradictory ones, E. A. D'Alton, *op. cit.*, IV, 377.

[5] Address of Commons, March 29, 1673, Froude, *op. cit.*, I, 378 ff. According to the revelations of informers, Ormond was to be murdered by "assassins, poisoners, incendiaries," Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond, August 13, 1678. *Great Britain Historical Manuscripts Commission. Calendar of Manuscripts, Marquis Ormonde* (London, 1906), IV, 182. Ormond knew no such dangers existed, nonetheless, persecution was redoubled, Lady Burchclere, *Life of the Great Duke of Ormonde* (London, 1912), p. 273. False impressions must be avoided here; persecution never entirely disappeared in all places and at all times. The State Papers contain a rather unbroken chronicle of spy reports, priest and teacher arrests, etc., Burke, *op. cit., passim.*

lish markets to Irish cattle and variously restricted Irish trade and shipping. Further impoverishment followed the famine year of 1674.[6]

Nor did Catholic education receive the assistance of an untrammeled Church. Although Catholics outnumbered their neighbors twenty to one, the Protestant Church again secured establishment. For the Established Church this meant a mandated Catholic support and an enjoyment of educational control—both reinforced by stern penalties against non-conformism. All attempts on the part of Catholic leaders to revive their obliterated or confiscated schools met unbelievable difficulties, and most bishops tasted bitter exile while priests dodged fines and prison. Ecclesiastics, surviving only through full-time farming or cattle-raising and simultaneously ministering to several parishes, had little chance to effect any educational revival. Hardest hit by the plight of Catholic schools were the small gentry and professional classes; the nobility, albeit with increasing difficulty and considerable danger, often managed to send their sons to study abroad. Poorer classes generally looked upon school as simply an unattainable luxury.[7] This briefly sketched background must be held in mind as we examine what knowledge Rome had of Irish Catholic education. Then only can one realize how remarkable it was that Rome had any knowledge at all, and what an achievement such education represented.

From information forwarded to Rome the curial officials knew that educational efforts were being carried on in a number of places. As early as 1660, Father Stephen Rice, the Jesuit superior in Ireland,

[6] *Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, Lismore Papers,* edited by A. B. Grosart (London, 1886-1888), I, 36. Ormond dissolved parliament on August 6, 1666, and there was no legal meeting until 1692 (Irish Commons Journal), Bagwell, *op. cit.,* III, 74; Nicholas French, *Sale of Ireland, Duffy's Library of Ireland* (Dublin, 1846), VII, 74; Brenan, *Ecclesiastical History,* p. 476; MacLysaght, *op. cit.,* p. 294; Auchmuty, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

[7] Brenan, *Letters,* pp. 10 ff.; James O'Laverty, *Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor* (Dublin, 1878), I, 17; MacLysaght, *op. cit.,* p. 302. In 1660 there were three Catholic bishops in Ireland: Edmund O'Reilly (Armagh), Anthony Mac Geoghegan (Meath), Owen MacSweeney (Kilmore); the last was aged and ill, the other two in hiding. W. M. Brady, *Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Rome, 1876), I 226, 239; Bagwell, *op. cit.,* III, 54 ff. John Burke (Tuam), Robert Barry (Cork), Patrick Plunket (Ardagh), Andrew Lynch (Kilfenora) were in France; Nicholas French (Ferns) in Spain; Walter Lynch (Clonfert) in Hungary. Brenan, *Ecclesiastical History,* p. 477; A. Cogan, *The Diocese of Meath* (Dublin, 1862-1870), II, 89.

told of a school at New Ross,[8] and Bishop Patrick Plunket wrote in 1669 of his success in educating the youth of Meath.[9] Dublin,[10] Down,[11] Cashel,[12] Dundalk[13] and Drogheda[14] reported schools, while the Diocese of Limerick claimed "Nam fere in omni parrochia invenitur unus aut duo Magistri. . . ."[15] In letters to the Holy See Bishop Brenan noted how well Catholic education fared at Ardagh and Ossory at a time when his own diocese, only with difficulty, managed a single school, attended by fifteen youths, in the city and three, "each with a few children," in outlying districts of Waterford.[16] Other sources locate additional schools, unmentioned in known communications with Rome, in Connaught,[17] Moybolge,[18] Galway and Burrischole,[19] Creagh parish,[20] Inish [Ennis],[21] and Mayo.[22] In Kilkenny, spies

[8] Rice to Rome, Hogan Transcripts (synopses made by Edmund Hogan, S.J., of reports to Rome by the Jesuit superior in Ireland), Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 84; T. J. Corcoran, "Blessed Oliver Plunket and his Irish Jesuit Schools," *Studies*, XXX (September, 1941), 418.

[9] Patrick Plunket to Propaganda, June 22, 1669, quoted in Cogan, *Meath*, II, 119.

[10] At Saggart. Oliver Plunket to the Secretary of Propaganda, February 23, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 216.

[11] Oliver Plunket to Frederico Baldeschi, Secretary of Propaganda, November 1, 1670, O'Laverty, *op. cit.*, V, 469.

[12] Oliver Plunket to Propaganda, June 7, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 74.

[13] Rice to the Jesuit General [Giovanni P. Oliva] at Rome, July 15, 1677, Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and *Studies*, XXX, 420.

[14] Oliver Plunket to Oliva, November 22, 1672, *Memoir*, p. 115.

[15] James Dowley, Vicar Apostolic of Limerick, probably to Propaganda, January 13, 1671, Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I, 506; John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Dublin, 1927), p. 479.

[16] "Relatio status" to Propaganda, probably September 6, 1672, Brenan, *Letters*, p. 33.

[17] Athenry Abbey. John O'Heyne, *Irish Dominicans of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by A. Coleman, O.P. (Dundalk, 1902), appendix, p. 84.

[18] Philip O'Connell, *The Schools and Scholars of Brieffne* (Dublin, 1942), p. 263.

[19] O'Heyne, *op. cit.*, p. 239. Ormond, asked what to do about the "senseless and extravagant insolvency of the friars and nuns at Galway and Burrischole," replied: "The nuns are silly creatures yet they must be dispersed. . . ." Ormond to the Earl of Arran, August 30, 1683, in Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 59. The expelled nuns probably did some teaching.

[20] Begley, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

[21] *British Historical Manuscripts, Ormonde*, VI, 39.

[22] O'Heyne, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

reported that schools were maintained by the Jesuits, St. Mary's Parish, and by the lay teachers Lench, Mrs. Trennell, and Mrs. Cantwell.[23] Of the Kerry youth, Sir William Petty reported in 1670 that French was known and Latin spoken among the poorest of the poor.[24] Perhaps notice of them appears in correspondence still to be published.

Various religious groups who taught were named to Rome, e.g., the Jesuits of Armagh, Meath, Limerick, Cashel, and Waterford.[25] In Waterford, drawing upon some little income from parish and school or from friends and relatives, they were self-supporting. The friars—Franciscans and, to a lesser extent, Dominicans—had novitiates dotting the land. "Novices" must be understood rather loosely, for many more benefited than those becoming religious. There is a tradition that the friars, seeking refuge from persecution, often lived in private homes during this period and that from the Greek and Latin instructions they gave the neighboring and household children, the Brieffne classical schools, which flourished toward the end of the seventeenth century, eventually took shape.[26] Since approximately a hundred Augustinians kept active during these years, future archival explorations may bear witness to their school work.[27] Diocesan clergy also shared in the effort: "The pastors teach the children catechism and instruct some of them in reading and writing but they are weak in the humanities and other [*sic*] sciences."[28] Synods, such as that held in 1670 for Dublin under Archbishop Peter Talbot, reiterated to parish priests their obligation in this work. Even with

[23] Spy Reports, May 12, 1667, Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[24] E. A. D'Alton, *op. cit.*, IV, 526; Patrick Cardinal Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland Under the Penal Laws* (London, 1899), p. 99.

[25] Oliver Plunket to Oliva, November 22, 1672, *Memoir*, p. 114; Patrick Plunket to Propaganda, June 22, 1669, Cogan, *op. cit.*, II, 119; Dowley to Propaganda, January 13, 1671, Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I, 506; Rice to the Jesuit general in Rome, July 15, 1677, Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and *Studies*, XXX, 420; Brenan to Propaganda, September 6, 1672, *Letters*, p. 33; Patrick Power, "The Jesuits in Waterford," *Studies*, XXXVI (September, 1947), 273.

[26] Bishop Owen MacSweeney's earlier "Relatio," 1636, corroborates such a tradition, O'Connell, *op. cit.*, p. 51; C. P. Meehan, *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries* (Dublin, 1899).

[27] Brenan, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 480. Carmelites and Capuchins totalled approximately fifty, secular priests 1,000, Franciscans 400, and Dominicans 200, MacLysaght, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[28] "Relatio status" to Propaganda, September 6, 1672, Brenan, *Letters*, p. 33.

oppression on every side, it seems that the efforts of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine may have continued to go on.[29]

In other ways, too, the hierarchy offered leadership: Oliver Plunket was commended when the clergy meeting in synod at Armagh (1670) and Clones (1678) wrote of him to Rome, "ipsisque domum et scholam propiis [sic] expensis aedificavit."[30] John Brenan urged upon the Holy See, although he understood well the many pressing obstacles, "the appointment in each diocese of one, or if possible more than one Catholic schoolmaster to teach in a primary school and to withdraw the children from the public Protestant school where some poison is very often inhaled."[31] One account told how religious brothers participated in educational work. Although no published Roman correspondence recorded the participation of nuns, other evidence indicates they may have taught.[32]

Occasionally individual names were forwarded to the Holy See. Thus we learn of "a certain William Flaherty, a priest, a good rhetorician, who keeps a school at Down."[33] Oliver Plunket also named his Jesuit teachers, Fathers Murphy, Ignatius Browne, Stephen Rice, and the lay-brother, Nicholas. Edward Dromgole, a secular priest, temporarily took Browne's place. Rice had earlier written about Father Stephen Gelosse, S.J., who taught at New Ross.[34]

[29] "The output of catechisms and of works of devotion in the Irish language during the seventeenth century . . . was very great: it provided most probably for the needs of systematic Catechetical Schools," Martin Brenan, *Schools of Kildare and Leighlin* (Dublin, 1955), p. 22; John D'Alton, *The Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin* (Dublin, 1838), V, s.v. "Talbot."

[30] Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, II, 211; *Memoir*, p. 66.

[31] "Relatio," June 18, 1672, answering a syllabus of eighty-eight queries from Propaganda and "Relatio status," September 6, 1672, Brenan, *Letters*, pp. 24, 33. Non-Catholic schools consisted mostly of the royal schools. There were also a small number of private schools, e.g., Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin founded by Charles II and Kilkenny College re-endowed by Ormond. From 1669 on Erasmus Smith Schools attempted to "propagate the Protestant Faith" (Smith Letters, June 2, 1682), Auchmuty, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 56.

[32] A lay-brother helped in the Armagh schools, but the precise nature of his help, and whether he did actual teaching, is not clear, Oliver Plunket to Propaganda, November 22, 1672, *Memoir*, p. 114. On August 30, 1683, Ormond informed Lord Deputy Arran of the fining and dispersal of the nuns in Galway and Burrischole, Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[33] Oliver Plunket to Baldeschi, November 1, 1670, O'Laverty, *op. cit.*, I, 469.

[34] Oliver Plunket to Oliva, November 22, 1672, and to the internuncio at Brussels, April 2, 1672, *Memoir*, pp. 114, 224. Corcoran, *Studies*, XXX, 418.

Brenan informed Rome of Father Maurice Donnellan's educational success when he said: "He . . . has kept here a School of Philosophy for twelve years, a rare thing in this kingdom; indeed I know of no other instance in the whole country. . . ."[35]

The names of other priest teachers can be mentioned, however, without evidence that Rome knew of them, e.g., John Garrigan taught Latin at Moybolge from approximately 1677; Neal Carolan taught on the border of Meath in 1667, and the parish priest of Feacle was teaching in the 1660's.[36] As we have seen above, spies listed the names of some lay-teachers, Lench, Mrs. Trennell, and Mrs. Cantwell, all in Kilkenny. On one occasion John Roane, the Protestant Bishop of Killaloe, wrote Ormond: "As to the first particular concerning the Papal schoolmaster at Inish [Ennis] (Dr. Cargill by name), the Lord Clare spoke to me in August last that I should give way for Cargill to keep school at Inish till May next, and he would be gone for France. I replied that if his lordship meant to license him, I should never do that for him, nor any other Papist; then he desired my connivance, etc. Capt. Purdon told me within these four days (upon his reading the Lord Clare's Petition) that he had committed two Popish schoolmasters and the Lord Clare released or dismissed them."[37]

Dominican teachers present a special case since a foresighted superior directed Father John O'Heyne, an eyewitness with access to eyewitnesses, to write an account of Dominican labors in Ireland. Through him we learn that a school opened outside Kilkenny in 1665 by Fathers Thomas Tully and Conor MacMahon numbered 300 pupils; at Mayo and Burrishole, respectively, Fathers John O'Ryan and John O'Hart taught; Father Michael O'Hart, who died in 1688, maintained a large school of philosophy and moral theology for many years. The supposition seems reasonable enough that many more names of religious teachers must have been sent to the various religious superiors in Rome.[38]

In their correspondence with Rome the Irish bishops, unable to erect seminaries properly speaking, offered their illegal schools as the only possible compliance with Tridentine decrees. Before 1660 the

[35] To the internuncio at Brussels, June 15, 1678, Brenan, *Letters*, p. 59.
[36] O'Connell, *op. cit.*, p. 263; Cogan, *op. cit.*, I, 288.
[37] April 23, 1681, *British Historical Manuscripts, Ormonde*, VI, 39.
[38] O'Heyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 225, 239, 249.

procedure of necessity had been to send ecclesiastical students abroad. A contemporary Waterford report, e.g., indicates that almost all of the twenty-six priests listed had studied abroad. The same situation prevailed from about 1676 on. Bishop Brenan stated to Propaganda in 1684 that impossible conditions for the last seven years had forced him to send all seminarists overseas. Archibshop Plunket likewise struck the same note in his 1671 message to Propaganda when he remarked, "The young priests who were ordained during the past seven years, in order to fill the places of those who were deceased, are very backward in learning, as they had no proper master to instruct them. . . ."[39] Yet for a training to be held inadequate, at least some instruction had to be available, and more explicit notice of it came from the Vicar Apostolic of Raphoe when he told Propaganda: "Grammaticum et poesim, patriaque more nonnullos casus conscientiae superficialiter didicere."[40] We possess a less critical witness in Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Meath, who characterized his "80 secular priests learned and exemplary men,"[41] and some taught only in Ireland must have been included. Some schools in Limerick offered philosophy: "In duabus villis huius Diocesis docetur Philosophia . . .",[42] as did others maintained by the Franciscans and Dominicans and mentioned in Brenan's Roman correspondence. However, he was writing two years after 1685, no guarantee of their previous existence; probably they did build on lesser, earlier, schools. Brenan elsewhere spoke of Father Donnellan's school, presumably in Brenan's diocese, possessing a philosophy course.[43]

Our best available picture of Irish ecclesiastical education appears in the letters of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh. "I built," said Plunket, ". . . two schools [at Drogheda and Dundalk] where about 150 boys are educated and about 25 ecclesiastics. . . . One of the Fathers [Ignatius Browne, S.J.] instructs, for an hour in the morning and another hour in the afternoon, the ecclesiastics in cases of morality, as also in the manner of teaching and catechizing . . .

[39] April 26, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 117; Brenan, *Letters*, pp. 31, 37.

[40] Luke Plunket to Propaganda, November 1, 1671, Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, II, 214.

[41] Patrick Plunket to Propaganda, June 22, 1669, Cogan, *op. cit.*, II, 119.

[42] Dowley to Propaganda, January 13, 1671, Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I, 506.

[43] Brenan to the internuncio at Brussels, June 15, 1678, and to Propaganda, November 6, 1687, *Letters*, pp. 59, 85.

on the feast days and vacations he teaches the ceremonies and the manner of administering the sacraments, etc." "Yet we are not able to have classes in philosophy or theology [dogma] or controversy. . . ."[44] A year or so later fifty-six ecclesiastics attended, a percentage of whom were priests. A letter of Plunket's clergy to Propaganda in August, 1678, stated, "he erected schools, and provided masters and teachers, that the clergy and youth might be better instructed in literature, piety, cases of conscience, and other matters relating to their office. . . ."[45] This concern to continue priestly training after ordination finds place in much of the synodal legislation, e.g., Clogher (1670), Waterford and Cashel (1676, 1677), Ardpatrick (1678), all required monthly clergy conferences at which various *casus conscientiae* received regular examination.[46]

Here appraisal of the numerous Franciscan and Dominican novitiates should be added, for through them many priests gained their preparatory training; in fact, Brenan calculated that he ordained ten Franciscans for every one secular. Repeated criticisms of a low standard of training reached the Holy See: "Many irregularities also arise from the multiplication of novitiates which they [the Franciscans] have in all parts of the kingdom, considering that very few of these novitiates have the religious spirit and observance, admitting as novices for the most part youths rough and uninstructed, which we find when they come to be ordained."[47] Plunket's solution would have the

[44] To Propaganda, April 26, 1671, and September 27, 1671, *Memoir*, pp. 117, 122. A year later Edward Dromgole had temporarily replaced Father Browne. "He is a secular priest, and a very worthy man," to internuncio, April 2, 1672, *ibid.*, p. 24. The school at Dundalk was referred to by the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh (Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1669), MacLysaght, *op. cit.*, p. 303. Years before the General of the Jesuits had written the Irish superior, "Unless freedom of religion is granted, you must not open a Novitiate. . . . I cannot allow our Fathers to teach theology and Philosophy in Ireland, as colleges and seminaries are not allowed." Edmond Hogan, S.J., "Worthies of Waterford and Tipperary," *Waterford Archeological Journal*, III (1897), 122.

[45] Letter of Clergy after Provincial Synod of Clones at Ardpatrick, *Memoir*, p. 66.

[46] Brenan, *Letters*, p. 45.

[47] To Propaganda, February 22, 1673, *Letters*, p. 39. The following account of Athenry Abbey (Connaught), which in 1678 the Dominicans were operating on a large scale, may be found in O'Heyne, "The students were scattered here and there in the wood and adjoining country, living in small batches, each batch under the direction of a tutor, in little wooden huts constructed by themselves,

novices study abroad. "Let those who have a vocation," he urged, "be sent to Louvain, to Prague, to Rome, or to Capranica, to make their novitiate. . . . Neither the Capuchins, nor the Jesuits, nor the Carmelites have a novitiate here being aware that they could not give novices a proper training in this kingdom."[48] In the face of this criticism from the Archbishop of Armagh, which was generally shared by the hierarchy, it is well to recall Bishop Brenan's words. He remarked: "I may even add confidentially, that the Franciscan Fathers of strict observance in this Kingdom do more good than any other religious Order."[49]

The studies of the Irish pursued on the continent lie outside the purview of this article; however, home efforts to promote them should be briefly sketched. Through synodal decrees Rome became aware of this zeal, e.g., that of the 1660 Provincial Synod of Armagh which decreed, "Ad bursas fundandas pro juventute huius Provinciae in virtutibus et literis educanda in Collegiis ultramarinis statuimus et ordinamus ut singuli Parochi contribuant." The clergy were also requested by the synod held in 1674 at Ossory to include such a bequest in their wills.[50] Besides their financial contributions to students the bishops of Ireland initiated efforts to open colleges for Irish youths abroad. In 1673 John O'Moloney, Bishop of Killaloe, deputed by the hierarchy, prevailed upon King Louis XIV to create such a college in Paris. An estimate of the importance the Irish hierarchy attached to this institution may be gleaned from a statement they sent to Rome: "It is clear that the Bishop of Killaloe will do more good by procuring for us that college, than he would did he remain in his diocese during his whole lifetime."[51] The Irish bishops periodically

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their food and clothing being sent to them by their friends. In the morning they all came together in an open space in the wood for lessons and dispersed again to their huts when the work of the day was over. The school was begun and ended with prayer, the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin being always recited before the students dispersed in the evening"; *op. cit.*, appendix, p. 85.

[48] To Propaganda, September 25, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 91.

[49] September 20, 1684, Brenan, *Letters*, p. 40.

[50] October 8, 1660, Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, II, 200; Ossory Diocesan Synod, 1674, in *Transactions of the Ossory Archeological Society* (Ossory, 1880-1883), II, 425.

[51] Oliver Plunket to the Cardinal Protector, March 14, 1673, Laurence F. Renehan, *Irish Bishops* (Dublin, 1874), II, Part II, 90. Plunket had earlier opposed this venture, *ibid.*, II, 90. The College of St. Anthony at Louvain pro-

complained, however, to Propaganda that after all their efforts many of those ordained *ad titulum missionis* did not return to minister in Ireland. Hence, petitions requested that power to select candidates be given to the archbishops, since the Jesuits, who enjoyed the prerogative, might select those planning to become religious.[52]

Throughout the Irish-Roman correspondence of these years persecution of the schools often sounded its sad refrain. Caution of statement, the bishops explained, had to govern any answers in the "Relatio status" concerned with education, since only "in secret and at some risk Schools could be maintained,"[53] for by law "no Catholic can be schoolmaster, and thus the office belongs to the Protestants."[54] Catholics were "imprisoned and mulcted with pecuniary fines, for discharging such offices."[55] Cases involving schools were among those which forced Catholics to appear before the officials of the Protestant Church. From a 1678 "Relatio" the Holy See knew of this: "The Catholic Archbishop does not hold a consistory or public court," it was explained, "as by laws enacted since the Reformation, this jurisdiction is reserved to the pseudo-Archbishop and his Protestant officials who hold public court in the city of Cashel, where some of our Catholics are obliged to appear for matrimonial and other causes."[56] Thus it happened that when a school which Father Gelosse, S.J., maintained at New Ross put on plays, the Puritans grew angry and hailed his co-worker before the Protestant episcopal court; sentence ruled the teaching must be discontinued.[57]

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cured Irish type and set up a printing press from which many works dealing with religion were sent to Ireland. E. A. D'Alton, *op. cit.*, IV, 518.

[52] August, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 130. Oliva, the General of the Jesuits, agreed to this.

[53] Brenan to Propaganda, probably September 6, 1672, *Letters*, p. 33.

[54] Brenan to Propaganda, 1678, *Letters*, p. 65; cf. the Act of Uniformity (1665, 17 and 18 Car. II, 6) in Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Auchmuty, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[55] Brenan to Propaganda, September 9, 1687, *Letters*, p. 93.

[56] "Cashel Relatio," November 6, 1678, Brenan, *Letters*, p. 87. A discussion by seventeenth-century Irish theologians of this whole problem of *cooperatio* would be instructive, but I have been unable to locate any such discussion. Their writings, dominated by their struggle against Protestantism, were of an historical and apologetical nature. Thomas Wall, "Irish Theologians in Exile," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, LV (May, 1939), 501-515.

[57] "We had all the usual exercises of piety and learning, and we amused and instructed the people by plays. Some Puritans became angry at this and cited Father Gelosse's companion before the pseudo-episcopal court, accusing him of

In the early 1670's other schools were interfered with and Plunket informed Propaganda, "In Dublin, the schools which were commenced at Saggart have been upset, and the Remonstrants give annoyance. . . ."[58] The Archbishop of Armagh also outlined to Rome his own difficulties in maintaining Catholic schools: "Oh! what labours, what expenses, did I sustain in order to support them; how many memorials were presented against me, and against the Viceroy, even to the Supreme Council."[59] To placate official displeasure of this kind the Irish bishops at times tried a diplomatic approach, as when one bishop told Propaganda: "The Schools which I erected gave them [viceroy and counsellors] some annoyance: but I satisfied the more moderate amongst them by explaining that they were erected for no other purpose than to instruct the youth in Christian Doctrine and in literature, that thus they might be useful for the State, and for the service of the King, and that otherwise they would become vagrants, and rogues, and highway robbers, and disturbers of the social order."[60]

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contravening the statute of Elizabeth which forbade Popish schoolmasters to teach. The accused said that these laws referred to teaching for money. The judge said that no one taught for nothing. The accused offered to give securities to the court that he would pay a hundred pounds, if ever, as far as depended on him, he took a pension from scholars. The judge ordered him to teach no more. He obeyed for three days; and then relying on the support of influential Protestants, they resumed teaching." Rice to Rome, Corcoran, *Studies*, XXX, 418. What plays the New Ross school performed have not been discovered. A Kilkenny school selected *Titus* in 1644 and its argument indicates the play did not lack innuendo. "Titus a noble Gentleman more illustrious for his Christian courage than parentage: was sollicited by the King of *Bungo*, to desert his Religion by severall, most artificious infernall plots, all which he slighted and dashed with his invincible courage, and generous Christian resolution, whereat the King amazed, restored him to his liberty, wife, and children, and granted him the freedom of his Religion, with all his lands and possessions of which before he was bereaved as traitor to the Crowne." Corcoran, *State Policy*, p. 208.

[58] Oliver Plunket to the Secretary of Propaganda, February 23, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 216. The remonstrance, a pledge of loyalty to the king, went to extremes and violated papal rights. Devised by Father Peter Walsh, who later openly apostasized, it was officially rejected by the Irish hierarchy meeting at Dublin in June, 1666. Through communications from Propaganda and Francesco Cardinal Barberini the Holy See made clear to the Irish its condemnation of the remonstrance.

[59] To Propaganda, September 22, 1672, *Memoir*, p. 73.

[60] To Propaganda, November 12, 1673, *Memoir*, p. 82.

The validity of such argument made an appeal to many civil officials, and Rome learned how Berkeley proffered helpfulness during his term as lord lieutenant as well as how the Protestant gentry from time to time acted in a kindly manner.[61] It must have surprised Propaganda to hear from Patrick Plunket on one occasion that "the heretics themselves send their children,"[62] a sentiment echoed by James Dowley, "illas scholas frequentant aliqui adversae religionis."[63] Once their children were enrolled in these schools, Protestant parents would defend them "when some ministers seek to molest us."[64] A rather high proportion prevailed at times; one school with 150 Catholics numbered forty Protestant pupils.[65]

In return for not being molested, some schools refused admittance to non-Catholic pupils and entered agreements stipulating that all tuition payments would be handed over to the Protestant schoolmaster as though he had done the actual teaching. This was the case at Cashel where, it was said, "Several scholars came from a distance to it and were allowed to do so by the heretic schoolmaster, on condition that none but Catholics would frequent the Jesuit school and that they should pay the pension to him."[66] Quite different, apparently, was the case of those termed *dallas*. Various synods, e.g., that of Ardpatrick in 1678, ordered priests "not to admit those pupils who are called *dallas*." Plunket, in an accompanying letter of September 10, 1678, told the apostolic internuncio at Brussels: "Some wicked priests, becoming nutritors [fosterers], took to their care the children of Protestants, that thus they themselves might be defended against their ecclesiastical superiors: these children were called *dallas*."[67]

The dangers surrounding administration of the schools sometimes created disagreement on policy among the bishops themselves; Archbishop Talbot of Dublin stigmatized the expansion of educational

[61] Brenan to Propaganda, 1672, MacLysaght, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[62] Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Meath, to Propaganda, June 22, 1669, Cogan, *op. cit.*, II, 119.

[63] Letter of James Dowley, Vicar Apostolic of Limerick, probably to Propaganda, January 1, 1671, Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I, 506.

[64] To Propaganda, June 7, 1671, *Memoir*, p. 74.

[65] Oliver Plunket to Oliva, November 22, 1672, *Memoir*, p. 115.

[66] Rice to Jesuit General, July 15, 1677, Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and *Studies*, XXX, 420.

[67] *Memoir*, p. 155; MacLysaght, *op. cit.*, p. 287. Decrees of the synod of 1678 at Ardpatrick may be found in *Memoir*, p. 151.

schemes as "rash, imprudent, precipitous and vain."[68] His fears were not unfounded. In 1673 the schools of Armagh, and Catholic education generally, came to a standstill. Ormond persuaded the English parliament that a pampered Irish popery was on the militant rise, and as a consequence, proclamations closed all schools and convents, scattering novice and student alike. Archbishop Plunket informed Rome: "There is nothing that abandons me more to inward grief than to see the schools which were initiated by me, now destroyed after so many trials. . . ."[69] Similar proclamations repeated these harsh measures down to the end of the reign of Charles. Soon, with a few exceptions such as those of Cashel, clandestine school efforts became only a futile memory.

In its correspondence the Holy See observed all possible precautions to protect the Irish bishops. For the efficient operation of the Church, however, that correspondence continued to be necessary, and we find reference to it in Irish letters. "I received your letter of the 3rd inst.," wrote Archbishop Plunket, "and I am rejoiced that your excellency was pleased with the 'Report' which I sent regarding the state of Catholic affairs in this kingdom. . . ."[70] One of Bishop Brenan's reports was apparently not as well received, for, in his turn,

[68] Oliver Plunket to Oliva, November 22, 1672, *Memoir*, p. 115.

[69] Brenan, *Letters*, p. 18. "The schools continued to the close of November last, and commenced about the beginning of July, 1670; so that they lasted 3 yrs. and 5 mo.," Oliver Plunket to Francesco Cerri, December 15, 1673, *Memoir*, p. 79. This closing was in spite of the fact that Plunket enjoyed the protection of a number of powerful persons in Ulster, MacLysaght; *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[70] Oliver Plunket to Propaganda, November 12, 1673, *Memoir*, p. 81. Some provisions for the Irish sees were not even published in the consistorial acts. Interception of correspondence by spies was a frequent occurrence, e.g., letters of Anthony MacGeoghegan in Dublin, Paris, and London. Lord Berkeley told Oliver Plunket that many letters from the Brussels internuncio and the Secretary of the Propaganda had been intercepted as had Plunket's own to Cardinal Altieri, who served as Protector of Ireland after 1671, and to Cardinal Barberini, who had held the post up to 1671. The Irish bishops repeatedly warned Rome that hostile courts could use such correspondence as *prima facie* violations of the statute of *praemunire*. Many pseudonyms were employed, e.g., Thomas Cox and Edward Hammond for Oliver Plunket, Fleming for Cusack, Scurlog and Stapleton for Tyrrell. The internuncio used the pseudonyms Pruisson and Picquet. Sometimes the provincials of the religious communities adopted them, e.g., Harrison for John O'Hart, O.P. Letters were sometimes written in cipher. Cf. Brady, *op. cit.*, I, xiii ff.

we find him writing, "Your excellency was not overpleased with the report answering the syllabus."[71] We discover reference as well to the correspondence from the Brussels internuncio, "The Nuncio echoed this sentiment in writing to O'Moloney. . . ."[72] "Nonetheless you [the internuncio] can continue to send your letters as usual . . . During the past month I rec'd. two of your letters. . . ."[73] Letters refer likewise to correspondence from the Irish agent at Rome and from individual cardinals: "They published against me as I learned from Cardinal Howard";[74] "I rec'd. your two letters," read the response to the Irish agent, "one of the 1st of May and the other of the 21st of July."[75]

Archbishop Plunket had been receiving a pension from Charles II, given apparently through Lord Lieutenant Berkeley, and he used it to aid his school work. We know he received this pension until at least April 26, 1671, because a letter read at a meeting of the Congregation of the Propaganda on that date confirmed the continuing annual payment of 800 *scudi* (200 pounds), from the king.[76] Sometime before April 20, 1672, payment ceased, for on that date Plunket informed the Brussels internuncio: "The pension that was allowed me by the King has vanished. The Earl of Ranelagh prevented it. . . ."[77] Either shortly before this or immediately afterward, Plunket wrote the internuncio begging for funds: "I already wrote beseeching you to procure from the Sacred Congregation some provision or missionary stipend for three fathers of the Society who instruct the clergy

[71] Brenan, *Letters,* p. 40.

[72] Renehan, *op. cit.,* II, Part II, 90.

[73] Oliver Plunket to Brussels internuncio, November 12, 1673, *Memoir,* p. 81.

[74] Oliver Plunket, August 30, 1678, *Memoir, p.* 99.

[75] Oliver Plunket to Peter Creagh, September 15, 1674, *Memoir,* p. 99.

[76] Brady, *op. cit.,* I, 228. Before Talbot became Archbishop of Dublin his candidacy had been promoted by Charles II and Queen Henrietta Maria, the Spanish ambassador, King Louis XIV, and the papal nuncio to Paris. The internuncio at Brussels wrote that Talbot had a yearly allowance of £200 sterling from Charles. Bagwell (III, 101) acknowledges the grant, but believes little of it to have been paid. In 1671 a Spanish gentleman, Nicolo Paulez of Madrid, promised 1,000 *scudi* annually to Patrick Duffy, O.F.M. Episcopal poverty in Ireland was so great that some outside source of revenue was essential. Cf. Brady, *op. cit.,* s.v. "Clogher" and "Dublin."

[77] *Memoir,* p. 224. Moran felt it was discontinued because the court became convinced that Plunket could not be bought. Ranelagh's ruthless avarice seems sufficient reason. Bagwell, *op. cit.,* III, 119 ff.

and youth in this province; otherwise I cannot support them."[78] Success crowned his appeal: "The Sacred Congregation assigned 150 *scudi per annum* to the fathers. . . . The whole kingdom is indebted to you for the stipend procured for the Jesuits. . . ." He suggested also in the same letter that sending the money first to England, then on to Brussels and Ireland, would avoid any loss due to the rate of exchange.[79] Apparently the Irish hierarchy were careful to keep accounts of these funds—possibly at Rome's direction. When Plunket learned from Dr. Peter Creagh of Propaganda's displeasure at a reported misuse of funds, he stated in explanation: "I received the sum for two years, but I have already given 500 *scudi* to the fathers, for which I have a receipt of their superior, Father Rice, a copy of which I sent to the Internunzio and Dr. Creagh."[80]

This, then, was in summary the picture that the Holy See had of illegal Catholic education in Ireland in the reign of Charles II, and, remembering how much the times were "out of joint," it was a remarkably full one. Fines, imprisonment, *praemunire,* even martyrdom, all failed as the information continued to flow to Rome. Without this correspondence, as preserved in Roman archives, we could have had only a blurred picture, and for the reign of Charles II simply a record of proscription and persecution of Irish Catholic education. However, with this correspondence the microscope of historical research has brought to our gaze myriad details, baring an unsuspected educational life. We have seen, e.g., how surprising a number of places maintained schools and how bishops and pastors, religious community and laity shouldered together heroic efforts in their behalf. Their educational range would seem to have been rather wide—literature, rhetoric, philosophy, and grammar were available to the general student, and in theology children received the elements of religion while difficult *casus conscientiae* were discussed for the instruction of priests.

School arrangements, probably without a parallel, have been revealed; a king's pension used for illegal schools in conjunction with

[78] To Propaganda, June 7, 1671, *Memoir,* p. 74.

[79] To Brussels internuncio, September 22, 1672, Corcoran, *Studies,* XXX, 421. "The money can be sent to Mr. Daniel Arthur, an Irish Catholic merchant in London, and it may be consigned to Father Perez in Brussels, or to the Provincial of the English Jesuits to be sent to Mr. Daniel Arthur, and thus I shall receive it here with some advantage, to compensate the difference of exchange between Brussels and London"; *Memoir,* p. 118.

[80] To Cerri, c. 1674, *Memoir,* p. 80.

funds smuggled across the seas from hated Rome; Catholic schools attended by and defended by Protestants as the Catholic pupils paid tuition to a Protestant schoolmaster who never taught them; Roman congregations, archbishops, and Jesuits graciously agreeing upon the delicate choice of students to be sent abroad. These findings, nevertheless, bear witness to the solicitude of the Church for Catholic education and they demonstrate, too, that this illegal education, far from being the by-product of any spirit of brash revolt, represented the sad acceptance of a sole possible course.

For civil authority legitimate respect was still nurtured, and these Irish schools trained worthwhile citizens to serve loyally and competently their beloved country. Caesar was rendered the things which were Caesar's, but the dictates of her own conscience were necessarily reserved to the Church—the divine teaching mission could not be abandoned. The published Roman correspondence for the years 1660-1685 shows complete agreement with the words of a later century:

> The true Catholic is neither a rebel or a slave, and while he cheerfully yields the obedience which is its due, he refuses with Christian manliness to submit to claims, however specious, which invade the rights of God or of man.[81]

*Archbishop Stepinac High School*

[81] Paul Cardinal Cullen, *Ireland and the Holy See* (Rome, 1883), p. 25.

# SOME WARTIME LETTERS OF BISHOP LYNCH

EDITED BY

WILLARD E. WIGHT*

The most prominant Catholic prelate in the Confederate States of America was Patrick N. Lynch, Bishop of Charleston. Indeed, he has been described as the counterpart of Archbishop John Hughes in the North, for he was in many ways the ecclesiastical spokesman for the hierarchy of the South. His letter of August 4, 1861, in which he presented his political views to the Archbishop of New York was widely copied in the religious and secular press of both sections of the country.[1] Official recognition of his leadership came in the spring of 1864 when he was asked by President Jefferson Davis to serve as "Confederate Commissioner to the Church States." This mission did not accomplish the desired results and placed Lynch in an embarrassing and precarious position.[2] He was still in Europe at the war's end and experienced great difficulty in securing permission from Washington to return to his diocese.

Lynch had been born at Clones, County Monaghan, Ireland, on March 10, 1817, the son of Conlan Peter and Eleanor (McMahon) Lynch. Brought to South Carolina when only one year of age, he attended the diocesan seminary at Charleston and completed his education at the Urban College of Propaganda at Rome. After his ordination there in 1840, Lynch returned to Charleston where he served as a parish priest, rector of the cathedral, and as vicar general of the diocese. In addition, he found time to edit the *United States Catholic Miscellany* for a number of years. In December, 1857, he was named successor to Bishop Ignatius Reynolds (1798-1855) and was consecrated as third Bishop of Charleston in that city on March 14, 1858.

More than six feet in height, Patrick Lynch was a forceful preacher and in the years of his episcopate proved to be a successful adminis-

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[1] The text of Lynch's letter and Hughes' reply of August 23 were printed in full in the New York *Daily Tribune*, September 5, 1861.

[2] For Lynch's mission cf. Leo F. Stock, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," *Catholic Historical Review*, XVI (April, 1930), 1-18.

trator. He was also a true humanitarian. In 1848, and again in 1871, he personally worked among the yellow fever victims of his diocese, and during the war he personally served the Federal prisoners who were confined within the limits of his field of labor. Most of the material accomplishments of his predecessors, and of his own first years as a bishop, were destroyed by the fire which swept Charleston in December, 1861, and by the passage of Sherman's army through South Carolina in February-March, 1865. At the end of the war the diocesan debt amounted to $220,000 of which $100,000 was deposits which the poor had entrusted to him. Lynch assumed the beggar's staff and toured the cities of the North asking for alms. Through this means he reduced the debt to $15,000. In addition, he was so instrumental in promoting better feeling between the two sections of the country that he was widely termed "ambassador of good will." Bishop Lynch died at Charleston on February 26, 1882, after a prolonged illness.

The letters here presented are from the archives of the Diocese of Charleston and are published with the gracious permission of the Most Reverend John J. Russell, Bishop of Charleston. Bishop Lynch kept no letter press copies of his correspondence, hence the paucity of letters from his hand among the materials in the diocesan archives. The majority of the letters here reproduced are drafts in Lynch's hand, and in a number of instances give no indication to whom they were addressed.

*Georgia Institute of Technology*

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Charleston, S.C. 6 Jan. 1861

Most Rev. Dear Sir[3]

I have just read in the Miscellany certain editorial remarks on its course, extracted from the Metropolitan Record, and have no difficulty in recognizing the style. I only take exception to one letter in the whole article vis the final *s* in the word Editors in the last sentence. There is only one Editor of the Miscellany—Dr. [James A.]

[3] Addressed to John Mullaly, editor of the *Metropolitan Record* of New York, which, after his break with James A. McMaster's *Freeman's Journal*, Archbishop Hughes had established as his own organ in July, 1859.

Corcoran —who is far better qualified to conduct than I am, even if I had time. In my hands it was and would be a "milk and water" concern on most subjects and in reference to home politics as "mum" as Bonners Ledger,[4] in which I am assured the word "Secession" has not yet appeared.

Dr. Corcoran writes as he pleases, I cannot say that his Editorials are not sometimes not to my taste.[5]— But he must write without restraints if he would write well. I certainly do not like the last two references he has made to political matters.— But he has said nothing "contra fidem et mores." If we are not now in a state of war we are very like it and very near it. In the Convention which passed the Secession ordinance, there was a larger proportion of thinking men who wished so to direct things that a conflict would be avoided, and all matters be settled by negociation. All the officers of the Federal Courts have [*sic*] resigned that point of Contact was removed. There remained three others on which the President's declaration that he would enforce the laws, and protect United States property, might bring difficulty: the Post Office, the Customs House, and the Forts. It was proposed that the secession should be considered as the dissolution of a partnership, and that the name of the old firm might be used for a reasonable time in winding up the concern, this reasonable time to be, until five or six other states should secede, and the movement have such proportions as to forbid any attempt at coercion. The matter was not so expressed, but I think that was the real idea. Some perhaps had a lingering hope that "something would turn up" to save the Union.

As to the Post Office, there was no difficulty. It cost us nothing, or rather the outlay in the state exceeded its income by perhaps $100,000 a year — We had nothing to put in its place. — And to stop it, would throw the people of the state into too great a ferment. So the Convention authorized the Postmasters to continue on the discharge of their duties. It was further said that the Postal Service

[4] In 1851 Robert Bonner (1824-1899) had purchased the *Merchant's Ledger* which he turned into a family newspaper under the name of the New York *Ledger*. He engaged in spectacular advertising in other papers and sought profits from circulation—a novel idea at the time.

[5] On February 9, 1861, Lynch wrote Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore that, "Dr. Corcoran is indeed very belligerent. Much more so than any of us. So much so as nearly to cause the Miscellany to *blow up*." 30-M-17, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

was by Contracts not yet terminated, made in good faith, and to which S. Carolina in the Union, was a party, and it would be a breach of faith to violate them now. The Custom House was the next point. Here the same policy was proposed. But the same interests were not at stake, and the further reason was urged that the collection of duties is an act of Sovereignty, which after the Act of Secession, could not properly be allowed to be done by Federal Authorities. The result was something of a compromise. The Collector and all his officials resigned their federal offices and were reappointed by State Authority and were charged to act precisely as before except that duties may be paid in bank bills, and must be deposited in the State bank. I am not sure whether articles from ***non slaveholding states*** would not be liable to foreign duties. But wither [*sic*] very little comes, or nothing is done in the matter. The tug of war on this point will occur when a new collector shall be appointed and shall collect duties at the entrance to the Harbour.

The third point was left untouched in pursuance of an understanding with the President — And three commissioners were sent to Washington. Barnwell,[6] an honourable gentleman rather conservative than otherwise, Orr[7] a wily politician, formerly Speaker of Congress, and *Adams*[8] an honest, hotheaded outspoken fire eater. What they did at Washington you know as well as we do here. They returned on the 4th inst. and on the 5th the Convention adjourned having appointed Commissioners to the several states expected to secede, empowered to offer the formation of a Southern Union under the Constitution of the U. States until a better one can be provided. Mississippi and Florida by the 4th of next March — with three other states perhaps to be added by the close of the year. Such a disrupption [*sic*] never could be healed.

[6] Robert W. Barnwell (1801-1882) had been United States Representative from South Carolina in Congress and was later Confederate States senator from South Carolina. A member of the South Carolina Secession Convention, he declined the offer to serve as Confederate Secretary of State.

[7] James L. Orr (1822-1873) had likewise served in the United States Congress as Representative from South Carolina. A member of the South Carolina Secession Convention, he later filled the office of Confederate States senator from that state.

[8] James H. Adams (1812-1861) was Governor of South Carolina in 1854, and was also a member of the South Carolina Secession Convention. He had been an advocate of state rights since 1832.

It would be based on strong motives: 1st a deep dislike, I might say, a very general intense hatred of the Northern States, on account of their Abolition Speeches, sentiments, legislation, and course of action. 2nd On a sense of wrong done us, by such legislation in violation of the letter & spirit of the Compact of the Constitution — by the systematic underground Railroads, and by the not unfrequent tampering with negroes here in the South—a feeling aroused by the speeches of Senators Wilson, Chase, Sumner, of Lovejoy, Julian, Campbell[9]— to say nothing of the use of Helper's Book[10] as a text book for their Presidential Canvass. 4th on a calculation that by seceding from the Union and establishing a Southern Confederacy the five above named states would save over $50,000,000 a year, which they pay to the North now, under the working of the Union, more than they would have to pay for the same Articles, were they free to purchase in the cheapest market of the world, and to import, without duties, or with duties, to be spent entirely at home. I am not sufficiently versed in Political Economy and its statistics to guarantee the accuracy of this last calculation. But though the amount may be wrong, I rather think it is not very far wrong. Let the Union be broken. — we at the South will suffer to some extent, But the North will have to drain the Cup, which they have but taken a sip of as yet.

For the last year, especially since it was deemed probable that the Republicans would obtain control of the forces of Government, documents have been industriously circulated all thro' the South, to spread and establish the positions I have indicated. Hence the rapid development of Disunion sentiments all through the Southern States, especially in the Cotton States, where the fourth ground has strongest application and weight. A movement based on such convictions and appealing to a sense of right. — to a feeling of injustice done — of wrongs threatened, — when once it has taken full hold of the popular heart, cannot well be stayed. In this State it has swept every thing. I know only *two* Southerners in this city of all my acquaintance, who may be set down as true Union Men. There are doubtless others who

[9] Senators Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and Representatives Owen Lovejoy of Illinois and George W. Julian of Indiana were all Republican members of Congress.

[10] Hinton R. Helper (1829-1909) was the North Carolina-born author of *The Impending Crisis,* a brief in behalf of the non-slaveholding whites of the South. In 1859 a fund was raised to print 100,000 copies for Republican campaign use in 1860.

would rejoice "quieta non movere," but would go with an United South. In Georgia, as I said, a fight for the Union will be made. Your Legislative action will have some, perhaps much weight, for or against the Secession in that canvass.

I do not claim to be a Union man myself — Yet I would regret to see this Government, after a glorious, though brief ascent, burst like a rocket, and leave only burnt & noise some fragments. I fear, too, future civil wars, strifes and miseries. Could I be guaranteed from them, a Southern Confederacy would bring us far greater prosperity, than we have enjoyed under the Union, at least of late years, — And if the spirit so inimical to the South which has obtained the reins of power is now to act out, what it spoke, why, the sooner we of the South are out of its clutches, the better. The sooner we know the truth the better. I hope the truth is, that the Constitution will be sacred and that the infractions of it will be redressed.

Here Rt Rev Dear Sir, I am not infrequently thrown into connexion with members of our Legislature. I presume such must be the case with you too, and it may be that the plain statement of facts which I make may have some influence where men will not trust to *tell-lie-graphic* reports, and leaders of partisan newspapers. If you think proper to make any use of it, you are free to do so. (not using my name unless strictly confidentially) If you do not, Why please excuse this long scrawl and put it in the fire. In either case, pray for, Rt Rev Dear Sir

Your obt Sevt & Bro in Xto
P. N. Lynch
B.C.

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Charleston S.C. 25 July 1863

Rt. Rev Dear Sir[11]

I have just received your letter of the 23d. A week ago I wrote you on the same matter of the successor to our saintly Abp. (R.I.P.)[12]

[11] This letter was addressed to John McGill (1809-1872), Bishop of Richmond, who had written to Lynch in regard to a successor to the recently deceased Archbishop of Baltimore.

[12] Francis P. Kenrick (1796-1863), sixth Archbishop of Baltimore, died during the night of July 6-7, 1863. It is said his death was hastened by the news of the number mortally wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg.

I did not think then of the See being left long vacant. I do not much like the principle of filling the metropolitan Sees by a Translation.— For myself, were such a translation offered me, — (I can speak of it as it is impossible under the Circumstances) — I would refuse; nothing short of a mandate from Rome would induce me to accept. It may in course of time lead to too much evil and ambition among even the Prelates. Circumstances may of course sometimes render it necessary. But as a general thing I would avoid it.

I somewhat jocosely proposed that some how application should be made to [Secretary of State] Seward for permission for the three Suffragans in the Confederacy to go on to Baltimore to see to the election of a Successor. He would probably refuse — then we would be no worse off, than we are now and the refusal might bring him such odium as would help to disgust still more, the Catholic and Irish element at the North. It might be that he would grant it for us to meet at Baltimore, — (not elsewhere)

I do not think our Government would make any objection. It would however be well to ascertain this informally at the beginning.

Now as to the succession itself. I do not think that there is the least probability that Maryland will ever belong to the Southern Confederacy. — And we cannot look for a Southern man to succeed Abp. Kenrick. Among the Prelates practically eligible, I presume Bp [Richard] Whelan [of Wheeling] is the most eligible one of the province. If we go out of the province Bp Baily [*sic*] [James Roosevelt Bayley] of New Ark, would I think do admirably. — Still there is the paper or list which I presume the good Abp has left, and much deference is due to his selection. As I write this fine Sunday evening I hear the Cannon, one every three minutes. I fear before a week is over the enemy will have all Morris Island. Then will commence the struggle in earnest — they to put up batteries to destroy Fort Sumter, we to prevent them from putting up such works. We will have 80 or 100 guns and mortars to play on the space where the battery will have to be erected. Time will show. If the Yankees try long enough and hard enough, and spend lives enough, of course they can take Charleston. But we will fight hard. The possession of Morris Island has so far cost them over 2500 men.

On last Friday we exchanged wounded prisoners. I went down on our Flag of truce boat, and had a near view of the Ironsides and the Monitors, one of them not 50 feet off part of the time — The Yankee

Surgeons whom I say, especially Chief Surgeon, Dr. Craven[13] were remarkably polite, and seemed moved by the attention which we had paid to their wounded, and expressed themselves handsomely on the subject. We delivered 104, and received 40 which they had taken so much better care of than we of theirs, that we felt somewhat mortified.

Where are we drifting To subjugation? Things really look dark. From [General] Joe Johnston and from [General Braxton] Bragg I look for very little. Here at Charleston we will do our best. But we hope Lee will strike some telling blow. I do not know which has disheartened me more the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson or the repulse of Lee in Pennsylvania. The 40,000 power lie of the latter's success but rendered the truth more discouraging.

Rev. Mr. [Timothy J.] Sullivan is quite unwell and is now in Va I presume. The rest of the Clergy are well & send their respects.

I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices, and am Rt Rev Dear Sir

Sincerely & respectfully, uti Fr in X J

P N Lynch D D

B.C.

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Charleston S.C. 1st February, 1864

Very Rev. Dear Sir[14]

Your letter & enclosing by Mr. Mottet,[15] dated 21st November, reached me yesterday. The previous bill for £240 is safe in Richmond. I mention this par parenthesis in the beginning of this letter to put that important matter straight, and as it may be a month before I can

[13] John J. Craven (1822-1893), inventor and physician, was medical director of the Department of the South in 1863. Later he attended Jefferson Davis while the Confederate president was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe. In 1866 he published his *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis.*

[14] An unfinished letter written to the Reverend Timothy Bermingham (1804-1872) who was at the time in Europe soliciting alms for the Diocese of Charleston. Cf. Bermingham to Lynch, Paris, May 23, 1864, Archives of the Diocese of Charleston.

[15] Edouard Mottet was born at Rouen, France, December 28, 1813, and died at Charleston, South Carolina, November 26, 1866. Tombstone, St. Mary's Churchyard, Charleston.

send this letter off, I may as well set out to write you a long tho irregular one, on all things about this poor distracted country, as well as about our own particular things. But about your letter by Mr. Mottet. He arrived here a few days ago, *without the letter* and told me it was in the hands of the Yankees. So I gave up all hopes of it. It seems that Mr. Mottet reached Bermuda safely — had to stay there a fortnight and more, and then sailed in the Blockade running steamer Virginia Dare for Wilmington, N. C. As they came near they were discovered and chased by several Yankee Gunboats. The Dare had to run for it, which she could do in style — 15 knots an hour — but they were too many — they kept her in shallow water along the coast and were firing at her. The passengers Mr. Mottet among them took each a valise, were put in a small boat, and rowed to the shore about 3 miles off — while the Dare continued her flight. They landed about ten miles south west of Cape Fear. She kept on half way to Georgetown — but being unable to get out to sea or escape her Captain run her aground, and with the crew escaped in boats. The Yankees came in four rowboats and took possession and loaded two of their boats with trunks &c, but overturned and some men drowned, and the others had to come ashore and were captured. The Gunboats fired shells into the hull to set it afire. — The waves battered it but when the weather moderated, our men went off to the wreck and got much of the cargo and articles aboard — and perhaps are still at it. Among the things recovered was Mr. Mottet's trunk. But the patriotic Soldiers exercising the right of salvage broke open the trunk and took out all the clothing — save *one shirt*. That too has since then disappeared. Mr. Mottet had a good many papers in that trunk, among them your letter for me. All the papers are gone save that letter which looked so big and respectable, and was so grandly addressed to so well known an individual, that they were pleased to leave it in the trunk to be transmitted to Mr Mottet — for which they have my profoundest acknowledgments. But you must allow Rev Dear Sir that this is corresponding under difficulties. We are now closing the third year of this cruel war and the country is in a state in which neither of us ever looked to see it. The first year was a year of glory for the South. On the whole we were every where victorious. The Second year was one of earnestness, and hard struggle in which we lost a little, but still could look at our signal victory. The third year was one of hard fighting, of suffering and of some severe losses. This coming fourth campaign will be, I think the last campaign on a large scale, and may

be the decisive one. On the part of the South it will be one of desperate and herculean effort. What it will be on the part of the North, of course, we cannot tell. They are inclined to do their best to crush us out, but inclination is one thing ability is another. If they can induce a large number of their tired troops to reenlist this Spring, they will have soldiers as good as last year. If they do not, and are forced to depend on raw recruits in a great measure, they can effect nothing against our men, who are in for the war, and have had two or three years training.

The whole is a matter of endurance. The South is numerically the weaker party, but it is at home and it is wonderful how men take to camp life and fighting. Nearly every able bodied man — at least 19 out of 20 — is in the army and we count about 250,000 on our muster rolls this month. But this development of the Army, has sadly crippled Agriculture. To be sure little or no cotton or tobacco is planted, "Corn, wheat, provisions," is all the cry. But even so the supply is getting limited, and this coming year I fear may be much more so. Should the North gain territory from us the coming campaign, as they did the last, and force our army to be more concentrated and to depend for its supply on only a part of our present area, and that devastated by Yankee raids or plundered by our own troops, I fear the words of "Handsome Charlie" (do you remember him?) will be true, and "General Starvation will have something to do in settling the dispute" not very favourably to us.

If on the other hand we hold our own in the field, it is probable that the politicians at the North will make *peace* or *war* a question for the Presidential election next fall; The Abolitionist Yankees of course are the hottest for continuing the war, and are very earnest that the Northern Armies should be kept full, but personally they keep out of them as far as they can. Our troops say that the Irishmen in the Northern Armies fight best, the Kentuckian next best (indeed they are more dangerous because more wily) the Northwestern Man and the Germans are next, and are good troops. But as for a pure New England regiment. All they have to do is to face it, and to halloo, and it will break and run. Our men like to meet such a regiment because it is easy work — and for the fun of the chase, and for the plunder too. For the Yankees always throw away in their precipitate flight, a full stock of their ingenious contrivances and notions for the comfort of camp life.

Saint George's, Bermuda[16]
15 April 1864

My Dear Sister[17]

Here I am in the "vext Bermoothes" able if I had time to give you an account of a very droll passage from Wilmington to this place. But that I fear I must reserve till another time. My nerves have been shaken so much by the rolling of the vessel that even after twenty four hours on land, you can see the effect still enduring. — I got aboard the Steamer Minnie, opposite Smithville, N.C. in the Cape Fear River about 6 p.m., Saturday last [April 9]. — It was a misty drizzling afternoon, the guard looked sharp at our passes;[18] but they were quite right. I had a letter for the captain which as he could not see me, I sent in by the mate, and waited on deck. After a while the mate returned, and said the captain would not take us. After a while I went to the captain, whom I found a stiff Englishman, quite curt and surly. As I had a point to gain, I soon talked him down into good humor, and we took a glass of wine together, and it was settled that we would go. I then got some of my things put under cover, and waited still on the open deck for further developments. Hours rolled by.

[16] The original of this letter is in the archives of the Ursuline Nuns at Louisville, Kentucky, and was loaned to the managing editor of the REVIEW through the kindness of Sister Mary de Lourdes Gohmann, professor of history in Ursuline College, Louisville, and author of *Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860* (Washington, 1938). By reason of its close relation to the contents of the foregoing letters it was decided to include it among those taken from the archives of the Diocese of Charleston. The editors of the REVIEW wish to thank Sister Mary de Lourdes for supplying the text as well as most of the information for the accompanying footnotes.

[17] Ellen Lynch [Mother Baptista] (1823-1887) was educated by the Ursuline Nuns at their convent in Charleston, joined the community as a young girl after its removal to Covington, Kentucky, and was sent back to South Carolina in 1858 where she established a convent in Columbia. The institution was burned in February, 1865, in the general conflagration that followed General Sherman's occupation of the city. She was superior of the South Carolina Ursulines for twenty years and died on July 28, 1887, just ten days after they had moved from Valle Crucis outside the city into their new convent in the Hampton-Preston Mansion in Columbia. Bishop Lynch had another sister in religious life, viz., Sister Antonia of the Carmelite community of Baltimore.

[18] The pass which was dated Headquarters, Defences of Wilmington, Wilmington, N. C., April 9, 1864, and which read "The Pickets will allow Bishop Lynch, his Secretary & Mr. Chapman to pass to Steamer Minnie on Cape Fear," is in the archives of the Diocese of Charleston.

Finally a squeaking voice was heard from somewhere "If any party there wants any tea, he can come and be served." Certainly, said I promptly, but how and where? We were instructed to get down from the quarter deck, on the main deck to pass along a dark narrow passage between Sundry little state rooms, appropriated to the officers of the Steamship and half filled with cotton bales, until we could go no further the whole way being entirely blocked up by more bales. There at the right hand we found a little English steward in a little pantry, doling out bits of bread, and tiny cups of tea to half a dozen passengers crouching and crowded in the pantry, or on the cotton-bales in the aforesaid passage. I took my share, and thought of the comfortable little convent parlour in Columbia. This done I returned to the drizzly quarter Deck, and waited again. After awhile I began to enquire about our sleeping quarters. Here was a difficulty. Back of the State rooms was a cabin Hall — (very little of course as the boat was little,) and intended to be entered by the aforesaid passage half filled part of the way and entirely blocked up in another, by cotton bales. In lieu of it a Skylight on deck was opened, and we crawled down or climbed down into the dark pit below, and lighted on still other cotton bales, on which we found other passengers seated waiting for something to turn up. We waited there for a couple of hours, expecting the boat to start, but at length we found that the night was so dark and boisterous that the pilot refused to take us out. Then like rats we commenced feeling about for enough room to stretch ourselves out for some kind of a nap. Among the passengers, was a Canadian, the Captain of a steamer recently lost in trying to run the blockade. He, of course, understood the position of things better than any of us, and took Monseigneur under his special care, and away behind a cotton bale, by the side of the vessel found a sofa with a cushion which he assigned to me, and which during the rest of the trip was my resting place, when somebody else did not get there before me, and get sound asleep. On Sunday things were put a little more ship shape. That is to say the passage way was so far cleared of the obstruction that we could *crawl* through it, and in the cabin the cotton bales were so moved that we had a little table to eat from, and cotton bales to sit on. Sunday night at 11 p.m. we started. All windows of the ship were closed. All the dead light shutters were put in, in addition, and then to make sure, all the lights inside were extinguished. I went out on deck and sat on a cotton bale, holding a little hand valise with all the papers I wished to destroy in the event

of capture, — and well laden with oyster shells to ensure its sinking when thrown overboard. On we went, at our game of naval bo-peep. The whole art consists in seeing your opponent before he sees you. Our vessel is small, has only one mast, is all over a dull white colour, almost invisible by starlight and there are no lights aboard, as we go on silently and swiftly. Twenty pairs of practiced eyes are peering out into the darkness ahead and on either side, to descry the dark hulls and rigging, or the twinkling lights of the Blockading vessels — we know there are *nine* of them or were at sunset. — "There is one says a look out" "Starboard your helm" cries the Pilot and we keep away from him. "Theres another" on the other side. "Port helm," and we keep at a respectful distance from him too. Soon they are behind us, and have not noticed us. There's another nearly right ahead! "Starboard helm,". — we give him a respectful distance. "Another." rather near this time and not half a mile off, and on one side. Give her a full head, says the Captain and the Minnie fairly jumps. — Soon sparks come flying up the chimney stack. Oh how the captain curses and stamps. — On we go and soon that blockader is far astern of us. Some say they saw a fifth far off — But by 12 ½ the captain and pilot came down, and took a drink on their success. We were out at sea and out of immediate danger, and away we went towards Bermuda. I emptied out the oyster shells, — fixed my papers, crawled back to my sofa, and went to sleep. Next morning the weather was fine and the sea rough. The passengers began to be sick. One stretched on a cotton bale in the Cabin commenced to throw up, the little Steward rushed in and abused him without stint. — but had no basin to give him. — It was fortunate the weather was fair, so that we could all go out, and lean over the sides of the vessel to pay our tributes to Neptune. I was quite well before the bad weather set in. On Monday, we had a clear day, a strong unfavorable westerly wind, and a rough sea and we rolled along 8 and 9 knots an hour. This day we saw only two sailing vessels, both going south, and of course we did not mind them. On Tuesday the weather was still the same. The sea a little smoother, and our speed about the same. In the forenoon we saw four sailing vessels. While at dinner, I noticed that the Minnie changed her course, and I went up on deck. Away in the distance about 8 miles off, was a Yankee Cruiser, firing up at a great rate and pursuing us. We turned off our course — and ran away as fast as we could 11 miles an hour — After three quarters of an hours trial, he gave it up, and jogged on his first course, and we turned our

head again to the Eastward, and hurried on. In the afternoon still other vessels under sail. That night was exquisitely calm and beautiful. I staid on deck until 11. by which I lost my sofa, and slept in consequence on a cotton bale. Next morning, we had a gale, which lasted with showers all day, making it quite uncomfortable to stay out on deck, and the vessel rolled horribly, "enough as a Pilot said to me, enough to roll a chaw of tobacco out of your mouth." That day still other sailing vessels in sight, sometimes three at a time. Night came on boisterous and tempestuous, we were approaching the "vexed Bermoothes"— I could not sleep, and did not like to stay in the cabin, hot and close, with the chance of a cotton bale tumbling over on me, so I sat most of the time on the quarter deck, enjoying the scene, and taking shower baths as the spray crashed over the vessel. About 2 a.m. we came near running down a little Brig which was running before the wind, with no light, and I presume no look out. Fortunately for him we saw him and turned aside. But I think he was scared. Next morning, through the mist and rain, we saw *hills* at 8 a.m. — and for a couple of hours ran along the coast, as the weather cleared we saw that it was a cluster or range of islands with hills from 50 to 250 feet high with numerous snow white little houses dotted about — The shores were rocky, and the water underneath, was a clear transparent light green showing the sea weed and coral, twenty feet under us, and even the fishes swimming about, or the crabs on the rocks at the bottom. At 10 ½ a.m. the pilot who had come on board and taken charge, — a consequential *Negro,* turned the bow of the Minnie into a gap between two rocks. — In we went through it. — The narrow stream soon forked away to the right up one branch or over the low hills, we saw a cluster of snow white houses, and masts and smoke stacks of steamers. This was our route, but somehow the vessel started on the other route, up the crest to the left, and was soon thumping on the rocks — After a while she got off — and we followed our right course and in half an hour, had anchored in the Bay of St. George and I went ashore.

Having some despatches to deliver, I soon found out Major Walker of Va. the chief Confederate Agent here, a very gentlemanly man. He said he was intimately acquainted with Rev. Monsignor Virtue,[19]

[19] John Virtue (1826-1900) became first Bishop of Portsmouth, England, in 1882. In 1853-1854 he had accompanied Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, the papal envoy, in the capacity of secretary on the latter's ill-starred trip to the United States.

the Catholic Clergyman of this place, (the same who accompanied Mgr Bedini) and at once sent him word of my arrival. But Mr. Virtue was absent on a mission, to some other of the Islands, and has not yet returned (Saturday 10 a.m.) Accommodations being very hard to get in this place, Major W. invited me to his house, where I am in clover. His wife a very amiable lady is the daughter of Judge Gholson[20] of Virginia, now a member of Congress.

I have remained quiet resting myself, and feasting on books published since the war, and which I had not been able to get a sight of before. I am now waiting for the Alpha, steamer from St. Thomas, which touches here and goes on to Halifax. She is expected some time to day so do not be surprised if this letter closes abruptly.

The Bermudas are a very pretty group of coral islands, stretching from the Northeast to the South west, about twenty or twenty five miles, and there turning round to the North and stretching back four or five more, like a shepherds crook. They say there are 360 of them, but some can only be rocks a few feet across, the seven or eight principal Islands vary from 3 to ten miles in length. There are creeks arms of the sea, lakes and bays every where, some of them good for shipping and all beautiful to look at. The surface is broken and hilly. The hills rising perhaps 250 or 300 feet. Snow white cottages built of the very friable sandstone of the Island are every where seen. Wood for building is so scarce, that even the roofs are covered with stone slabs, covered with white cement, you would think every morning that it had snowed heavily during the night. The population of the entire group is I am told 14,000 — 3,000 whites and 11,000 coloured free, tho' I think these figures inaccurate. They have a colonial assembly or Legislature, and perhaps next year a Negro member will be returned for the first time. There are three regiments of British troops here, and a Navy Station, and formerly there was a Penal colony, with 1200 or 1500 convicts. John Mitchel[21] was here for a time. — I have not moved about much or sought to make acquaintances. But I should think the higher society quite refined. The Islands have long

[20] Thomas S. Gholson (1808-1868) after serving as a judge in Virginia, 1859-1863, became a member of the Second Confederate Congress and continued in that office until the end of the war.

[21] John Mitchel (1815-1875), the Irish nationalist, was imprisoned in Van Diemen's Land after his time in Bermuda. He escaped to the United States in 1853 where he had a colorful career as a journalist fighting for the freedom of Ireland.

been a favorable winter resort, and since the war instituted Blockade running trade is quite brisk. The people do not steal, but they will cheat you out of your eyes. But I have run on long enough about my trip. Who do you think I met here? Our nephew Robert well and hearty, and finely grown. His dissatisfaction at Combrer increased, and his troubles likewise. Add to that serious doubts as to his vocation, and a longing for home. He applied to Mr. Slidell[22] in Paris and got passage on a government vessel to this place, and reached here two days before me, and in a fortnight was to try to run the blockade to Wilmington. Of course this would only distress his parents, and for himself I do not think he ought to enter the Army. Any how this would do him much evil, render worthless all his previous study and do the Confederacy no good. So I have resolved to take him back with me, and if he really has no vocation he can either return with me or some other arrangement can be made. — He is a good boy.

When in Petersburg I learned that Miss M. Jones[23] had made another attempt to go North, and had been forced to return, and was again in Wilmington. Poor child. She said as she was starting, that she would soon be either in a convent or married, I think the alternative itself a decision.

Keep this letter for me to see when I get back. Remember me to all the community, and give my love to Sr. Gertrude.[24] Also to John[25] and his family. I write to him by another vessel, and to Father & Mother.

I felt secure during my trip for I knew that good people were specially praying for me. Continue to pray for

Yr aff Brother,

P. N. Lynch D.D.

[22] John Slidell (1793-1871) was one of the two Confederate agents removed from the *Trent* late in 1861, an incident which caused a crisis in Anglo-American relations.

[23] A Miss Mary Jones entered the Ursuline Convent in Columbia in 1862 but remained only two months; this may have been the young woman to whom Lynch was referring.

[24] Sister Gertrude Spann [Ellen Lynch Spann] (1843-1865) was the bishop's niece and the first student to enter the Ursuline novitiate at Columbia from the convent school. Another niece of Lynch who became an Ursuline was Caroline Spann [Sister Michel] who died on June 27, 1931.

[25] Dr. John Lynch was the brother of the Bishop of Charleston. He had been of great assistance to the sisters upon their arrival in Columbia in September,

When you write direct your letters to Rt. Rev. Bishop Lynch, and enclose in an envelope to Hon. J. P. Benjamin,[26] Secretary of State, Richmond Va.

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[Draft, undated]

D. [ear] S. [ir][27]

I feel highly honored by the receipt of your interesting letter of 12 Aug. both because it renews a correspondence with yourself whom I remember with such pleasure having met in Rome — and because it shows how earnestly the interests of Religion appeal to Catholic hearts everywhere!

I fear that I cannot give you much information on the Subject. I could indeed speak of the state of the Question in these Southern States before our late Civil War. But since its close in 1865, we are in a state of social revolution, which is called reconstruction. In some States it has gone farther than in others. In this State of S. Carolina, the Civil Government has passed into the hands of the negroes, formerly the slaves — they constituting about two thirds of the legislative assembly — Destitute of education, — without any property, and therefore having no taxes to pay, but free to make others pay as they please — And intoxicated with their powers, they are in the hands of certain leaders whom they blindly follow, and are in fact a governing body, as hostile to the whites, and as odious to them, as I presume the Prussians are to the Alsaciens [*sic*]. So far the great effort has been to fill the purses of those leaders, nearly all of whom are adventurers from the Northern States; who came poor, and are now rich.[28]

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1858, and had made arrangements for them to move to Valle Crucis, a country seat of Bishop Lynch three miles from Columbia, after the fire of 1865.

[26] Judah P. Benjamin (1811-1884) was respectively Attorney General, Secretary of War, and after February, 1862, Secretary of State of the Confederacy.

[27] Addressee unknown; endorsed on the back: "Copy of letter from Bishop Lynch to ."

[28] For a description of conditions in South Carolina at this time cf. James S. Pike, *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government* [reprint edition] (New York, 1935), *passim*.

You will understand then that in this State of social confusion there is no very definite system of Public Schools.

The question of religion can scarcely be said to arise, especially in the schools for the blacks. The teacher, if there are several, the Chief teacher is often a clergyman, who preaches on Sunday, and presides at the religious assemblies during the week as well as teaches in the school — Moreover, it is customary to commence the exercises of the School every day by a prayer, or the reading of the Bible, and the singing of a hymn. In the public schools for the whites, the teachers are seldom clergymen, but the exercises commence with some devotional exercise, and would doubtless be more religious, but for certain difficulties arising from the mixture of religions.

Our people are a religious people. No Man that vaunts his unbelief is looked [up to]; no man who proclaims himself a foe to religion or an advocate of infidelity would be — An exterior respect is paid by all. Of course there is sincerity in the masses. An Episcopalian does not wish his child to receive the religious instruction of Presbyterianism. Nor a Presbyterian, that of Methodism, nor a Methodist that of the Baptists: So that in the schools there is only what they agree on. The Catholics of course do not wish our children to unite in *any* heretical worship. In point of fact, the religious exercises are services to the minimum, and in the Northern States are sometimes excluded, not in a spirit of irreligion but not to trench on the rights of the followers of any special sect.

## MISCELLANY
# HAWTHORNE AND CONFESSION

By

Henry G. Fairbanks*

Readers today are generally familiar with the story of Rose Hawthorne who became a convert to Catholicism, a nun, and founder of a community for the care of incurable cancer victims. Fewer readers are aware that another daughter of the renowned American author, Rose's sister Una, died in an Anglican convent at Clewer, England, where she had been making preparations to enter the sisterhood.[1] Hardly anyone knows that Nathaniel Hawthorne himself showed considerable interest in Catholic beliefs long before his residence in Florence and Rome.

One of the features of Catholic practice compelling Hawthorne's interest—confession—is particularly timely today when public, as well as specialist, avidly follows the developing science of psychiatry. The drive behind this interest, and the need which it shows, is not unrelated to the same need sensitively perceived over a century ago by the classic American romancer. In that sense Hawthorne is as contemporary as C. G. Jung who has said: "Among all my patients . . . there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life . . . and none of them who has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook."[2] Hawthorne would have agreed readily with Jung, for Hawthorne's approach to experience was peculiarly that of the psychologist. In his probings of human motivation he had discovered that modern man's alienation from nature, man, and self began with man's separation from God. A preoccupation with guilt, and a search for healing reunion, often drew his attention to the Sacrament of Penance as understood by Catholics.

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[1] Cf. *The Memoirs of Julian Hawthorne,* edited by Edith Garrigues Hawthorne (New York, 1938), pp. 221-222.

[2] *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (New York, 1933), p. 264.

This interest in confession as an outlet for the guilty heart was a logical development of Hawthorne's aggravated sense of sin and of his awareness of the insufficiency of natural man. Were it present only in his last major novel, *The Marble Faun,* it would be possible to regard it as a stage property of the Italian scene, or as an exciting "shocker" exploited by spotlighting "the daughter of the Puritans" among the confessionals in the south transept of St. Peter's.[3] But confession was an old theme in Hawthorne which merely found an ideal setting for fuller treatment against the Roman background. Moreover, by the time he came to write *The Marble Faun,* his comprehension of the problem of sin and confession was mature, perfected in meditation and practiced in handling.

One of the short stories included in *Mosses from an Old Manse,* "Roger Malvin's Burial," is the first instance of Hawthorne's concern with this subject. Printed in magazine form in *The Token* (1832), it had undoubtedly been composed even earlier—probably in 1828 or 1829, long before his recognition as a great American writer.[4] It illustrates how "concealment had imparted to a justifiable act much of the secret effect of guilt" (II, 394). Reuben Bourne, a combatant in "Lovell's Fight" with the Indians on the frontier in 1725, had survived the battle together with his father-in-law, Roger Malvin. Both had been severely wounded, the older man mortally. When the dying Malvin urged Bourne to leave him behind in the wilderness, the younger man reluctantly complied. Bourne scarcely reached the settlements himself where, to his bitter remorse, he allowed his wife to believe that he had remained with her father to the end. But the memory of his abandonment of Malvin gnawed at his heart and made him "a moody man, and misanthropic because unhappy" (II, 397). This burden of self-reproach was lifted only when, with his wife and son, he returned to the spot where he had promised that he would bury Malvin.

In his private notebooks for 1842 occurs Hawthorne's next reference to concealed sin.

[3] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, With Introductory Notes by George Parsons Lathrop.* [Riverside Edition, 13 vols.] (Boston and New York, 1892), VI, 403-412; hereafter referred to by volume number.

[4] Elizabeth L. Chandler, "A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853," *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages* (Northampton, 1926), VII, no. 4, 55.

A Father Confessor—his reflections on character, and the contrast of the inward man with the outward, as he looks round on his congregation—all whose secret sins are known to him.[5]

Apparently he had been musing on this subject with a view to incorporating it into one of his stories. For, according to James Russell Lowell, it had been Hawthorne's intention in *The Scarlet Letter* to have the guilt-tortured Dimmesdale make his confession to a priest. Lowell wrote to Miss Jane Norton on June 12, 1860:

. . . I have seen Hawthorne twice. . . . He is writing another story. He said also that it had been part of his plan in "The Scarlet Letter" to make Dimmesdale confess himself to a Catholic priest. I, for one, am sorry he didn't. It would have been psychologically admirable.[6]

Obviously Hawthorne thought the idea was psychologically admirable, too; for though he yielded to a strong sense of historical propriety and did not introduce a priest into inhospitable seventeenth-century Boston, he built the theme of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) around the necessity and blessings of confession. The exchange between the physician Chillingworth and the minister Dimmesdale (V, 160-161; 166-167) dramatizes the kind of situation which Hawthorne must have had in mind when he discussed his project with Lowell. But the scene reveals more than the machinations of Chillingworth to coerce an admission of Dimmesdale's adultery, and more also than Dimmesdale's self-torturing concealment of his responsibility for Hester Prynne's public condemnation. It shows also that Hawthorne had thought long and deeply about the nature and efficacy of confession. Chillingworth (pretending to examine a bundle of unsightly herbs):

"I found them growing on a grave, which bore no . . . other memorial of the dead man. . . . They grew out of his heart, and typify, it may be, some hideous secret that was buried with him, and which he had done better to confess during his life-time."

"Perchance," said Mr. Dimmesdale, "he earnestly desired it, but could not."

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[5] *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne,* edited by Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1933), p. 97; hereafter referred to as: *American Notebooks.*

[6] *Letters of James Russell Lowell,* edited by Charles Eliot Norton (New York, 1894), I, 302.

"Wherefore not; since all the powers of nature call so earnestly for the confession of sin, that these black weeds have sprung up out of a buried heart, to make manifest an unspoken crime?"

Dimmesdale (admitting the relief of confession):

". . . I conceive . . . that the hearts holding such miserable secrets as you speak of will yield them up, at that last day, not with reluctance, but with a joy unutterable."

"Then why not reveal them here?" asked Roger Chillingworth. . . . "Why should not the guilty ones sooner avail themselves of this unutterable solace?"

"They mostly do," said the clergyman, griping hard at his breast as if afflicted with an importunate throb of pain. "Many, many a poor soul hath given its confidence to me, not only on the death-bed, but while strong in life, and fair in reputation. And ever, after such an outpouring, oh, that had been done during the last century on the Catholic history of at last draws free air, after long stifling with his own polluted breath."

A few pages later Chillingworth reopens the inquisition by proposing a diagnosis of his patient's health.

"You would tell me, then, that I know all? . . . He to whom only the outward and physical evil is laid open, knoweth, oftentimes, but half the evil which he is called upon to cure. A bodily disease, which we look upon as whole and entire within itself, may, after all, be but a symptom of some ailment in the spiritual part."

"Then I need ask no further," said the clergyman, somewhat hastily rising from his chair. "You deal not, I take it, in medicine for the soul!"

"Thus, a sickness," continued Roger Chillingworth . . . "a sickness, a sore place, if we may so call it, in your spirit, hath immediately its appropriate manifestation in your bodily frame. Would you not, therefore, that your physician heal the bodily evil? How may this be, unless you first lay open to him the wound or trouble in your soul?"

Of Hawthorne's intent to feature a confessional scene in *The Scarlet Letter,* the contemporary scholar, Randall Stewart, observes: "It is clear that Hawthorne's interest in the subject steadily increased, and, gaining strength to overcome an inherited reluctance, found ultimate expression in *The Marble Faun.*"[7] Something of the growth of this interest can be traced in the entries of Hawthorne's "French and

[7] *American Notebooks,* p. 296.

Italian Notebooks"[8] made throughout his European tour at the end of his duties in the Liverpool consulate.

Apparently at Amiens, in France, he saw a confessional for the first time: ". . . a little oaken structure about as big as a century [sentry]-box, with a closed part for the priest to sit in, and an open one for the penitent to kneel in, and speak through the open work in the priest's closet."[9] It was then January, 1858, and the Hawthornes had been on the continent but a matter of hours. Thereafter confessionals, and the penitents waiting to enter them, were frequent entries in the journals. Once, passing near the confessionals for foreigners in St. Peter's (the same featured subsequently in *The Marble Faun*), Hawthorne observed "a Spaniard, who had just come out of the one reserved for his native tongue, taking leave of his confessor, with an affecting reverence which—as well as the benign dignity of the good Father—it was good to behold."[10] Hawthorne added that the "relation between the confessor and his penitent might, and ought to be, one of great tenderness and beauty; and the more I see of the Catholic church, the more I wonder at the exuberance with which it responds to the demands of human infirmity."

On another occasion in a Roman church which he could not identify, he studied a similar scene. A lady penitent confessed, kissed the absolving hand of the priest, and then sat down to rest. As he watched her, Hawthorne thought: ". . . it must be a blessed convenience—this facility of . . . confessing . . . to a priest, laying the whole dark burthen at the foot of the cross, and coming forth in the freshness and elasticity of innocence."[11] The thought led him to write, with a positive interest in stimulating devotion marked nowhere so explicitly before in his jottings: "It is for Protestants to inquire whether some of these inestimable advantages are not compatible with a purified faith, and do not indeed belong to Christianity, making part of the blessings it was meant to bring."[12] More surprising still for one in whom "Sunday sickness" had long been chronic, he added with a new note of awakened zeal: "It would be a good time to suggest and

[8] "The French and Italian Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne," edited with introduction and notes by Norman Holmes Pearson. 3 vols. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1941). Hereafter referred to as: F. and I.N.

[9] F. and I.N., II, 9. Two years later, on his return to England, he described a different type of confessional in the Beauchamp Chapel of Warwick Castle (*ibid.*, III, 732).

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 114. [11] *Ibid.*, II, 228. [12] *Ibid.*

institute some of them, now that the American public seems to be stirred by a revival, hitherto unexampled in extent. Protestantism needs a new Apostle to convert it into something positive." How strongly the Sacrament of Penance moved him, and how deeply he connected the religious instinct with the institution of confession, can be gauged somewhat by the wholly uncharacteristic enthusiasm for religious forms to which it had prompted him.

But there were other occasions. On the return trip from Florence to Rome the Hawthorne party, proceeding by leisurely stages, stopped at Siena. In the cathedral, which he visited daily and admired more with each visit, Hawthorne "watched a woman at confession, being curious to see how long it would take her to tell her sins." He did "not know how long she had been at it," but nearly an hour passed before the priest came suddenly out of the confessional, looking weary and moist with perspiration. Evidently Hawthorne himself was not weary. For on the following morning he returned to watch another enactment of the same drama: the woman "long about it," the priest scarcely inclining his ear to the perforated tin through which the penitent communicated. When the confession was over, the woman came out and sat on the bench beside Hawthorne, " a country-woman, with a simple, matronly face, which was solemnised [*sic*] and softened with the comfort that she had got by disburthening herself of the soil of worldly frailties, and receiving absolution."[13]

Such is the background which culminates in the incorporation of the confessional scene into the design of *The Marble Faun* (VI, 403-412). As a result of this preparation, Hawthorne's handling makes Charlotte Brontë's use of a similar situation in *Villette* seem melodramatic by comparison.[14] Brontë's is a skillful, theatrical effect achieved sentimentally, with little understanding of the reality of either guilt or forgiveness. Hawthorne's is a drama in which he himself has a part so closely identified with Hilda's role that she is less a puppet here than elsewhere in the book. The theme so long revolved in his heart, the details so expertly blended from the notebooks, all coalesce in a moving affirmation of religious truths which he felt profoundly—the insufficiency of man and the abiding mercy of God.

Reuben Bourne's concealment which "had imparted to a justifiable act much of the secret effect of guilt" is reflected in Hilda's anguish

[13] *Ibid.*, III, 572-573.

[14] Charlotte Brontë, *Villette* (New York and London, 1899), pp. 188-192.

before the relief of confession: "It was the sin of others which drove me thither; not my own, though it almost seemed so."[15] Dimmesdale's tortured introspection,[16] which had led him to the brink of insanity, is paralleled in Hilda's admission to the father confessor: "I grew a fearful thing to myself. I was going mad!"[17]; and, again (to her suitor, Kenyon): "Being what I am, I must either have done what you saw me doing [entering the confessional], or have gone mad."[18] In like manner Hilda's transformation after confession is comparable to the change wrought in Hester Prynne after owning her adultery before the Puritan community.[19] Hilda, once the student-copyist of old masters, found a new independence, artistically as well as morally.

> On her part, Hilda returned to her customary occupations with a fresh love for them, and yet with a deeper look into the heart of things. . . . It is questionable whether she was ever so perfect a copyist thenceforth. She could not yield herself up to the painter so unreservedly as in times past; her character had developed a sturdier quality, which made her less pliable to the influence of other minds.[20]

Moreover, the details noted of confessionals are transferred from the journals to the sequences of *The Marble Faun* with a fidelity and ease not always evident in Hawthorne's adaptation of his notebooks. They are inserted without that obtrusiveness of the topographical and architectural features of Rome which sometimes threatens to turn *The Marble Faun* into an animated *Baedeker's*. They achieve this because they are not a tourist's recollections of dead scenes, but, for Hawthorne, an integral part of his own, as well as Hilda's, experience. They are all there: the questioning of the monopoly of "these inestimable advantages" by Catholicism; the envy of the precious privilege to "fling down the dark burden at the foot of the cross, and go forth . . . to live again in the freshness and elasticity of innocence"; the look of "peace and joy in the woman's face" as she left the confessional; the long line of foreign language confessionals ringing the transept of St. Peter's. They are there with scarcely a change, or new emphasis, to adjust them to the fictional situation.

[15] VI, 418. Cf. also (VI, 409): "It seemed as if I made the awful guilt my own, by keeping it hidden in my heart."

[16] *Ibid.*, V, 176-177. [17] *Ibid.*, VI, 409. [18] *Ibid.*, VI, 418.

[19] "The tendency of her [Hester's] fate and fortunes had been to set her free" (V, 239).

[20] VI, 427.

Much has been made of Hawthorne's adaptation of the seminal material of the *American Notebooks* in the composition of his famous short story, "Ethan Brand." Effective though this adaptation is—most of all for the welcome corporeality which it confers on "Ethan Brand" to an unusual degree—it is a refined instance of the notorious Hawthorne economy, jottings thriftily saved for the rainy day of dark composition which came ten years after his sojourn in the Berkshires. Though nicely adjusted to the theme of "Ethan Brand," the details derived from Hawthorne's notebooks provide external setting mostly. But theme and scene are inextricably knit in the chapter of *The Marble Faun* which has grown out of material deposited in "The French and Italian Notebooks." For the interest in confession itself grew out of Hawthorne's deepest concerns—the guilt of the human heart and the separation, or incompleteness, of which this was the universal legacy. As Hilda said—so like Dimmesdale on his scaffold of triumph[21]—: "Only our Heavenly Father" can forgive sins.[22] Their pardon, like their origin, was a religious problem.

Yet, for all his regard for the institution of confession, Hawthorne did not fully comprehend its sacramental character in the Catholic sense. True, he did not look upon confession as many a modern psychiatrist looks upon it, as a therapeutic release merely of psychoses and repressions.[23] For Hawthorne, as for the Church, effective confession involved acceptance of responsibility for evil committed. But it was still largely a natural process of psychological readjustment, minus any intervention of supernatural absolution through the agency of a confessor. Like Goethe before him,[24] Hawthorne recognized an urgent need for confession rooted in human nature. But that very "insulation" of exaggerated individualism against which he had struggled and written all his life complicated his acceptance of the necessity of a priest-mediator between God and man.

*St. Michael's College*
*Winooski*

[21] *Ibid.*, V, 304.

[22] *Ibid.*, VI, 408.

[23] For the difference between psychotherapy and confession cf. Victor White, "Psychotherapy and Ethics" (pp. 141-162) and "The Analyst and the Confessor" (pp. 163-173), *God and the Unconscious* (London, 1952).

[24] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Poetry and Truth From My Own Life*, translated by Minna S. Smith (London, 1913), I, 258-261.

## THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, ST. LOUIS, DECEMBER 28-30, 1956

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Association opened in St. Louis on Friday, December 28, 1956, with the business meeting held in the Daniel Boone Room of the Hotel Statler at 2:30 P.M. President Halecki presided and the reports of the officers and committees—printed elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW—were read and accepted. At the close of the business meeting the chair was turned over to Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, C.S.J., of St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn, acting chairman of a special committee that had conducted an investigation during the previous year of the European survey course as given in Catholic colleges. Sister Joan de Lourdes stated that out of the 132 colleges contacted seventy-two had replied to the committee's questionnaire, the summaries of which were contained in the mimeographed report distributed to the audience at the outset of her discussion. Although no hard and fast conclusions had been reached by the committee, and the report revealed widespread differences in approach and practice, all were agreed that the discussion concerning the contents, methods, and place in the curriculum of this particular course had proved helpful to those responsible for the introductory survey in that it had enabled them to see how other institutions were handling it and, too, had helped them to clarify their minds through the medium of this exchange of experiences and ideas on the European survey in their history programs.

The second session of the annual gathering was the presidential luncheon which was served to a large audience of 133 persons in the Gold Room of the Hotel Sheraton-Jefferson on Saturday, December 29. The occasion was graced by the presence of the Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis, who not only presided in his customary gracious and friendly way, but who likewise spoke briefly at the close of the luncheon in terms of encouragement to the historians for the service that they were rendering to the Church by their teaching and research. Thomas H. D. Mahoney, First Vice President of the Association, carried off the chairmanship of the luncheon conference with dignity and despatch in introducing to the audience the members of the Executive Council, the chairman of the Committee on Program for the St. Louis meeting, and the chairman of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize, all of whom were seated at the head table. At the conclusion of the luncheon proper the chairman introduced Henry A. Callahan, S.J., of Boston College, who made his report as chairman of the Shea Prize committee. By reason of the special circumstances of that report it is included at this point *verbatim:*

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JOHN GILMARY SHEA PRIZE

During the past year the committee has examined several important works by Catholic scholars with a view to determining the recipient of the prize for 1956. They found particularly worthy of note the contributions of Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., and Robert F. McNamara in the histories, respectively, of Saint John's Abbey in Minnesota and of the North American College in Rome. The committee felt, however, that the intellectual leadership and the genuine historical scholarship of the Secretary of the Association could no longer be ignored. Despite his manifold duties as teacher, editor, and secretary, Monsignor Ellis has found time to use his pen in scholarly productions. We cannot pass over his two-volume biography of a great American cardinal, nor his recent volume of documents on the history of the American Church. We wish to cite for the prize this year, however, *American Catholicism*. This choice left the committee with a delicate problem in human relations, since we all knew the reluctance with which the author, as an officer of the Association, would consider such a suggestion. Wherefore, the determination was made not to consult the secretary on the matter at all and, trusting that his embarrassment would not be too great, to announce him as the recipient of the award at the annual luncheon. It is with genuine pleasure, therefore, that the committee awards the John Gilmary Shea Prize for 1956 to the Right Reverend John Tracy Ellis.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN, S.J., *Chairman*
GEORGE E. TIFFANY
GEORGE J. UNDREINER

After hearing from Father Callahan the next feature on the program was the scholarly presidential address of Professor Halecki which was delivered with much spirit and eloquence—and without benefit of notes or paper—on the subject of "The Moral Laws of History," the text of which appeared in the January issue of the REVIEW.

Immediately following the luncheon the members assembled in the Missouri Room of the Statler for the joint session of our Association with the American Historical Association on the general topic of Church and State in France and their role in the delicate issue of the religious schools. Professor Thomas P. Neill of Saint Louis University acted as chairman and introduced as the first speaker Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, C.J.M., of the Institut Catholique de Paris, visiting professor during the current academic year at the University of Notre Dame, whose paper was entitled, "The Church and Education in France, 1815-1848," which was followed by one for the years 1871-1905 by Evelyn M. Acomb of the State University Teachers College, New Paltz, New York. The

discussion was lead by John T. Marcus of the Carnegie Institute of Technology and Joseph N. Moody of Notre Dame College of Staten Island. The joint session drew a large crowd of about 200 that practically filled the Missouri Room to capacity.

The fourth and final session of the annual meeting took place on Sunday morning, December 30, in the Statler's Daniel Boone Room when Patrick H. Ahern of the St. Paul Seminary was chairman for a discussion centering around the theme, "The Status of Research in American Catholic History." The first of the two papers was by John B. McGloin, S.J., of the University of San Francisco who reported the research and writing that had been done during the last century on the Catholic history of California and indicated the large amount of work that remains to be done in that area. The second paper by Henry J. Browne of Cathedral College, New York, was a summary of the principal published works on American Catholicism on a national scale that had appeared during the past decade. Francis X. Curran, S.J., of Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, and Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, enlarged upon points brought out by Fathers McGloin and Browne and offered a number of additional suggestions for the teaching and writing of American Catholic history in the Church's institutions of higher learning in this country.

The Registration Desk at the Hotel Sheraton-Jefferson was operated during the three-day meeting through the generous assistance of a number of students majoring in history at Maryville, Fontbonne, and Webster Colleges who received 150 registrations, two less than the previous year in Washington. The thirty-eighth annual meeting will be held at the Hotel Statler in New York on December 28-30, 1957, in conjunction with the seventy-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the other historical societies who meet each year in Christmas week with the parent organization.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

### Account I—General Fund

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Investments—December 15, 1955 | | | $6,855.94 |
| Cash on hand—December 15, 1955 | | $ 8,133.59 | |
| *Receipts:* | | | |
| Annual dues | $6,446.10 | | |
| Income from investments | 486.15 | | |
| Donations to annual meeting expenses | 663.00 | | |
| Receipts for year | | 7,595.25 | |
| Total receipts | | $15,728.84 | $6,855.94 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Disbursements:* | | | |
| Office expenses: | | | |
| Rent of office and telephone service | $ 76.36 | | |
| Supplies and sundry | 297.33 | | |
| Secretary's salary | 1,488.66 | 1,862.35 | |
| Annual meeting expense—1955 | | 647.95 | |
| John Gilmary Shea Prize | | 200.00 | |
| *Catholic Historical Review* | | 4,270.57 | |
| Baumgartner, Downing and Co.—Stock | | 246.00 | 246.00 |
| Expenses of Committee on European Survey Course | | 14.50 | |
| Checks returned | | 14.00 | |
| Total expenditures | | | 7,255.37 |
| Balance on hand—December 15, 1956 | | | $ 8,473.47 |
| Investments—December 15, 1956 | | | $7,101.94 |

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

Publication of Documents

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash on hand—December 15, 1955 | | $2,246.94 |
| *Receipts:* | | |
| Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States* | $35.25 | |
| Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States* | 38.25 | |
| Total receipts | | 73.50 |
| *Disbursements:* | | |
| None | | |
| Balance on hand—December 15, 1956 | | $2,320.44 |

* * * * *

SUMMARY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Investments—Account I | | $7,101.94 |
| Cash on hand: | | |
| Account I | $ 8,473.47 | |
| Account II | 2,320.44 | |
| | $10,793.91 | |

## INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Interest:* | | |
| Morris and Essex | $ 70.00 | |
| New York Central and Hudson River RR. | 70.00 | $ 140.00 |
| *Dividends:* | | |
| Bank of America | $186.15 | |
| Montana Power | 90.00 | |
| Public Service Company of New Hampshire | 70.00 | $ 346.15 |
| | | $486.15 |

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

President: Thomas H. D. Mahoney, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
First Vice-President: Stephan Kuttner, The Catholic University of America
Second Vice-President: Astrik L. Gabriel, O.Praem., University of Notre Dame
Treasurer: John K. Cartwright, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington
Secretary: John Tracy Ellis, The Catholic University of America
Executive Council (for three-year term):
John A. Kemp, S.J., Loyola University, Chicago
Joseph L. Shannon, O.S.A., Augustinian College, Washington
Committee on Nominations:
Paul R. Locher, Georgetown University, *Chairman*
Owen J. Blum, O.F.M., Quincy College
Sister Mary Ambrose Mulholland, B.V.M., Mundelein College
Committee on Program:
Gaetano L. Vincitorio, St. John's University, Brooklyn, *Chairman*
Gerhart B. Ladner, Fordham University
Madeleine Hooke Rice, Hunter College
Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize (for three-year term):
Harry J. Sievers, S.J., Bellarmine College, Plattsburg

Respectfully submitted,
COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS, 1956:
DONALD P. GAVIN,
John Carroll University, *Chairman*
MOTHER JANE MILLER, R.S.C.J.,
San Francisco College for Women
DONALD F. SHEA, C.PP.S.,
St. Joseph's College, Collegeville

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Last year at Washington we had a lively session at the end of the business meeting on the subject of the European survey course in Catholic colleges. Today we are to hear the results of a year's investigation of that topic by a special committee appointed as a consequence of Professor Levack's paper. The committee's work was inaugurated by Dr. Planck of Seton Hall University, and after he left the country in July for a year's study abroad it was carried on under the direction of Sister Joan de Lourdes of St. Joseph's College for Women in Brooklyn. Therefore, I shall be as brief as possible in what I have to say.

I am glad to be able to tell you that the Association's membership has held its own during the last twelve months. The pertinent figures are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Membership, December 15, 1955 | | 1,012 |
| Deaths | 14 | |
| Delinquents | 66 | |
| Resignations | 13 | 93 |
| | | 919 |
| New members | 87 | |
| Renewals | 11 | |
| Membership, December 15, 1956 | | 1,017 |

Thus we have five above last year's total, and that in spite of eleven more deaths and nine more delinquents than those reported for the previous year. I am sorry to have to record, however, that the eighty-seven new members are also eighteen below the number enlisted during 1955.

The fourteen members who died during the past year were:

Right Reverend Daniel J. Brady
Very Reverend Vincent J. Flynn
Right Reverend Michael J. Hynes
Most Reverend Raymond A. Kearney
Right Reverend Thomas J. McMahon
Most Reverend Thomas E. Molloy
Most Reverend John G. Murray
Most Reverend John F. Noll
Mr. John F. O'Dea
Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara
Right Reverend John B. Phelan
Most Reverend Edward F. Ryan
Right Reverend Thomas F. Temple
Very Reverend Frederick E. Welfle, S.J.

May their souls rest in peace!

The names and addresses of the new members are as follows:

Ackerman, Most Rev. Richard H., C.S.Sp., 591 Ballard Street, El Cajon, California

Balfe, Dr. Richard, 804 Patterson Drive, South Bend 15, Indiana

Barres, Mr. Oliver, 28 Kilmer Road, Larchmont, New York

Bell, Most Rev. Alden J., 114 E. 2nd Street, Los Angeles 12, California

Biggane, Mr. Edward J., S.M.A., Queen of Apostles Seminary, Washington 17, D. C.

Brennan, Mr. Frank J. Jr., 363 Livingston Avenue, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Broderick, Rev. Leo P., 15311 Wick Road, Allen Park, Michigan

Burton, Dr. David H., St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania

Capowski, Mr. Vincent J., St. Anselm's College, Manchester, New Hampshire

Cartwright, Most Rev. Hubert J., 414 W. 28th Street, Wilmington 2, Delaware

Clark, Rev. Aubert, O.F.M.Conv., St. Bonaventure's Convent, Washington 17, D. C.

Clark, Rev. James A., 343 Tarkiln Hill Road, New Bedford, Massachusetts

Crump, Rev. Thomas F., O.M.I., Our Lady of Hope Mission Seminary, Newburgh, New York

Cuddy, Brother Henry, O.S.F., St. Francis College, Brooklyn 31, New York

Curran, Mr. Thomas J., 150 E. 34th Street, Brooklyn 3, New York

Davis, Mr. Gerald J., 500 Bonifarb Street, Silver Spring, Maryland

Debicki, Mr. Roman, 1724 17th Street, N.W., Washington 9, D. C.

de la Costa, Rev. Horacio, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

Donlon, Brother Stephen, F.S.C., St. Michael's College, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Donohue, Rev. J. Augustine, S.J., 7101 W. 80th Street, Los Angeles 45, California

Donovan, Mr. Vincent, North American College, Via del Gianicolo 12, Città del Vaticano

Dovick, Rev. Robert E., 103 Chestnut Street E., Chicago 11, Illinois

Duerr, Rev. Charles J., Box 65, Green Bay, Wisconsin

Duggan, Mr. Donald, American College, Louvain, Belgium

Eagle, Miss Cynthia, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.

Eileen, Sister Mary, S.S.N.D., 742 West Capitol Drive, Milwaukee 6, Wisconsin

Evans, Rev. Mr. J. Whitney, 401 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.

Fadner, Rev. Frank, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

Fairbanks, Prof. Henry G., 20 Hungerford Terrace, Burlington, Vermont

Flynn, Rev. Hugh J., 900 S. W. 26th Road, Miami 36, Florida

Francis, Brother, F.S.C., 270 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn 30, New York

Gallagher, Rev. Joseph J., 408 N. Charles Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland

Gallagher, Miss Margaret, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.

Glavin, Rev. Joseph A., S.J., College of the Holy Cross, Worcester 10, Massachusetts

Goodrow, Sister Esther Marie, S.L., Webster College, Webster Groves 19, Missouri

Harrigan, Mr. William M., Canisius College, Buffalo 8, New York

Hayes, Miss Mary Florence, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.

Healy, Rev. Valentine, O.F.M., San Luis Rey College, Old Mission, San Luis Rey, California

Heffron, Prof. Paul T., 10 Cherry Place, West Newton 65, Massachusetts

Herlihy, Dr. David J., 812 Montgomery Avenue, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Hogan, Rev. Michael P., O.S.A., 517 Elm Street, Rockford, Illinois
Hughes, Rev. Edward T., St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania
Jackson, Mr. William J., 315 Iowa State Bank Building, Iowa City, Iowa
Kapica, Rev. Walter J., S.J., Milford Novitiate, Milford, Ohio
Kay, Mr. John A., 5650 Post Road, Riverdale 71, New York
Kirk, Mr. Russell, Mecosta, Michigan
Kleber, Rev. Albert, O.S.B., Stork Memorial Hospital, Huntingburg, Indiana
Lamb, Mr. John M., Lewis College, Lockport, Illinois
Lane, Miss Catherine P., 1434 Madison Street, N.W., Washington 11, D. C.
Lawlor, Sister Mary, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.
Lyman, Brother Edward, F.S.C., De La Salle College, Washington 17, D. C.
Lynch, Rev. Cyprian J., O.F.M., St. Joseph's Seminary, Calihoon, New York
Marx, Most Rev. Adolph, 620 Lipan Street, Corpus Christi, Texas
Mary, Sister, 5 N. 7th Street, Camden 3, New Jersey
McCaffrey, Mr. Lawrence J., 1671 Schaeffer Avenue, St. Paul 16, Minnesota
McCallen, Miss Elinor, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.
McCallin, Rev. Joseph A., S.J., St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri
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Each year I try to present some new facet of the Association's personnel. For 1956 I chose an institutional breakdown, and I found that there were 270 members, or approximately thirty-eight per cent of the total from eighty-one institutions having two or more members. While we must not forget that a large number of Catholic educational institutions in this country subscribe to the Association's quarterly without maintaining any memberships—a factor that must not be overlooked—yet I think you will agree that we might reasonably expect a higher percentage of the 254 colleges and universities, the 505 seminaries for diocesan and religious students, and the 2,383 Catholic high schools of the land to appear in this list. These eighty-one schools of varied types with two or more members are, in a sense, our honor roll and they deserve, I think, to have their names known to all of us. The institutions with the number of members are the following:

Institutions with two or more personal faculty memberships in the Association:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alma College | 2 | Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington | 3 |
| Aquinas College, Grand Rapids | 2 | Immaculate Heart College | 2 |
| Archbishop Stepinac High School | 2 | Iona College | 3 |
| Barat College of the Sacred Heart | 2 | John Carroll University | 3 |
| Boston College | 4 | Loyola College, Baltimore | 3 |
| Bridgewater State Teachers College | 2 | Loyola University, Chicago | 8 |
| Caldwell College | 2 | Loyola University, Los Angeles | 3 |
| Cardinal Hayes High School | 4 | Loyola University, New Orleans | 3 |
| Cathedral College, Brooklyn | 2 | Manhattan College | 2 |
| Cathedral College, New York | 4 | Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart | 3 |
| Catholic University of America | 23 | Marquette University | 4 |
| Catholic University of Puerto Rico | 2 | Mary Immaculate Seminary, Northampton | 2 |
| Chestnut Hill College | 3 | Maryknoll Junior College Clarks Summit | 2 |
| College of the Holy Cross, Worcester | 7 | Marywood College | 2 |
| College of Mount Saint Vincent | 2 | Milford Novitiate, Milford, Ohio | 2 |
| College of New Rochelle | 3 | Mercy College, Detroit | 2 |
| College of Notre Dame of Maryland | 2 | Mount Saint Mary's College, Los Angeles | 2 |
| College of Saint Catherine | 2 | Nazareth College, Louisville-Nazareth | 2 |
| College of Saint Elizabeth | 2 | Newton College of the Sacred Heart | 2 |
| College of Saint Thomas | 4 | New York University | 3 |
| Creighton University | 2 | Notre Dame College of Staten Island | 2 |
| De Paul University | 3 | Our Lady of the Lake College | 2 |
| Fordham University | 9 | | |
| Georgetown University | 12 | | |
| Hunter College | 3 | | |
| Immaculata College | 3 | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Quigley Seminary, Chicago | 2 |
| Regis College, Denver | 2 |
| Regis College, Weston | 2 |
| Rockhurst College | 2 |
| Saint Anthony-on-the-Hudson Seminary | 2 |
| Saint Benedict's College | 2 |
| Saint Charles College, Catonsville | 3 |
| Saint Charles Seminary, Philadelphia | 3 |
| Saint Francis College, Brooklyn | 2 |
| Saint Gregory's Seminary, Cincinnati | 3 |
| Saint John's Seminary, Brighton | 2 |
| Saint John's University, Brooklyn | 5 |
| Saint John's University, Collegeville | 3 |
| Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia | 3 |
| Saint Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers | 2 |
| Saint Louis University | 9 |
| Saint Michael's College, Winooski | 2 |
| Saint Norbert College | 2 |
| Saint Paul Seminary | 2 |
| Saint Peter's College, Jersey City | 4 |
| Saint Vincent's College, Latrobe | 2 |
| Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington | 2 |
| Seton Hall University | 6 |
| Trinity College, Washington | 2 |
| University of Dallas | 2 |
| University of Dayton | 2 |
| University of Detroit | 4 |
| University of Illinois | 2 |
| University of Notre Dame | 14 |
| University of Saint Thomas, Houston | 2 |
| Villa Madonna College | 2 |
| Webster College | 2 |
| Xavier University, Cincinnati | 4 |

Insofar as the fortune of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW during 1956 is concerned it has been on the whole a good one, although the ominous shadow of rising printing costs and other expenses—reflected in the report of Monsignor Cartwright, our treasurer—leaves little room for complacency. We now have 510 subscribers or fourteen above the number of a year ago, and the exchanges now stand at 119 which is two more than in the previous report. Adding the members, subscribers, and exchanges, it means, therefore, that our quarterly journal is now being received by a total of 1,646 individuals and institutions. During the year the editors received twenty-two manuscripts for consideration, three less than in 1955. Of these thirteen were rejected, one was recommended to a more suitable journal which accepted it, four have been published, and four more manuscripts have been accepted and are now awaiting publication. The costs of printing the REVIEW continue to be our principal worry and, in fact, the issue of October, 1956, brought the highest figure that I can recall: $1,349.83. Just where we will end if this trend continues, I hesitate to say. But at the present time we are solvent, thank God, and we will hope that increased support from new members and subscribers during 1957 may carry us over without the necessity of having to raise the annual dues again.

Once more the Association owes more than it probably realizes to the unselfish and devoted assistance of its various committees. An expression of special gratitude should be given to Dr. Martin J. Lowery of De Paul University and to his committee who arranged the program for this St. Louis meeting and, too, to Professor Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements of the American Historical Association, who was characteristically generous and thoughtful in working with Dr. Daniel D. McGarry of Saint Louis

University to fit our sessions into the crowded room schedules of the Sheraton-Jefferson and Statler Hotels. We are likewise deeply obligated to Sister Joan de Lourdes and the committee who served under her direction on the problem of the European survey course, as we are to Professor Gavin of John Carroll University and his Committee on Nominations. Two modest and retiring scholars in our ranks have held high the Association's banner during the months that have gone in an important undertaking which was inaugurated by the International Commission on Ecclesiastical History. I refer to Father Henry G. J. Beck of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, and Father Edward A. Ryan, S.J., of Woodstock College, who have been our able representatives on the American committee that is drawing up an extensive bibliography on the history of the Reformation under the auspices of the commission.

The thirty-eighth annual meeting will be held on the same dates next December in New York. Meanwhile it would be an immense help to the executive office if each member would make it a point to recommend at least one new member for the coming year. In this respect there are a few in our ranks who have been outstanding, and I do not wish to let the occasion pass without mentioning the name of Father Peter J. Rahill, a priest of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, who is now engaged in writing its history. For several years Father Rahill has had a record second to none in interesting likely members among his graduate students at Saint Louis University and in the southern branch summer session of the Catholic University of America at San Antonio.

Permit me to close, then, with the customary thanks to all who in any way have helped the Association during the year, and to wish for each and every one of you here present, and through you to our members and friends in the institutions from which you come, a blessed and happy new year.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

# BOOK REVIEWS

## GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

*From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1170-1213.* By C. R. Cheney. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 212. 18s.)

Nearly thirty years have gone by since Sir Maurice Powicke gave a series of Ford Lectures at Oxford, which were published under the title *Stephen Langton.* Professor Cheney is Sir Maurice's former pupil, and this new book gives us the enlarged text of his Ford Lectures on a subject closely akin to that treated by Powicke in 1927. Yet there is a marked difference. Powicke was concerned with the life and thought of one man, and he taught English scholars to appreciate the close interconnection of theological theory and ecclesiastical action. Professor Cheney has deliberately chosen a period that lies between the careers of two great ecclesiastical statesmen. His concern is with the normal day-to-day life of the *ecclesia Anglicana* during the forty years that lie between the martyrdom of Becket and Langton's return to England as Archbishop of Canterbury. The interest of his lectures will be found to lie in a detailed survey of ordinary ecclesiastical life: the background and quality of the English bishops; their attitude to the new Roman canon law; the increasingly active interference of successive popes in the administration of law, the reform of abuses, the granting of indulgences and dispensations; the government of local dioceses, with the development of cathedral chapters and the organization of parish life; the relations of the clergy and the laity, and of Church and State, so far as they can be traced in lesser as well as in greater controversies; the religious orders, new and old, as they appear in contemporary records, etc.

As compared with Powicke's earlier work, this volume is very much less readable, for it is literally packed with detail from start to finish. But it is an exceedingly important contribution to our knowledge of the *ecclesia Anglicana* on the eve of Innocent III's great pontificate. Professor Cheney's knowledge of recent literature, English and American as well as French and German, is exceptional; and a close study of his footnotes will reveal his accuracy on points of detail. He is, perhaps, at his best in bringing together scattered items of information from episcopal records or contemporary chronicles, constantly reminding us of the need to question easy generalizations. One lesson emerges from the story that he tells: the skill with which so many English bishops and royal clerks succeeded in working out a compromise between the high Gregorian ideas of reform that lay behind contemporary Roman legislation, and a

respect for ancient tradition and English custom in all that concerned the very real claims of the crown. The author attempts a new estimate of Archbishop Hubert Walter (pp. 32-41), who did so much to organize the system of English government at the end of the twelfth century, and who is commonly held to have been a thoroughly secular bishop in his ideas of government. He brings together anecdotes and comments from Archbishop Hubert's contemporaries which stress the more spiritual and devotional side of this great civil servant's character. What he here says of one man may, perhaps, be taken as representative of the Church and kingdom which Hubert Walter governed so capably for many years.

Among the details that call for special notice I single out a discussion (pp. 47-49) of the problem which was first noticed by Z. N. Brooke in his *English Church and the Papacy* (1931), and on which Dr. W. Holtzmann has thrown new light. Why do English cases appear so frequently in the extant letters and mandates of that great lawyer, Pope Alexander III? Brooke thought the answer lay in the fact that England had been backward in her acceptance of canon law, and had thus given Pope Alexander an opportunity of admonition and instruction. Professor Cheney suggests that this preponderance of English cases may, on the contrary, be proof that English prelates were keen to seek advice on legal questions, and were more careful than their contemporaries in other lands to preserve their records. There is a valuable analysis (pp. 108-118) of the evidence for royal control over advowsons at a time when canonists were stressing the spiritual side of such legal rights, and were claiming them for the courts christian. There are also some interesting comments (pp. 137-138) on the survival of married priests in an age which was more and more insistent on the obligation of celibacy; and the whole last lecture on the laity, and their relations to the clergy, is full of shrewd comment. In a final sentence Professor Cheney sums up the general trend of his careful study when he says, "The Church had put into effect her determination that the clerical order should manage its own affairs."

AUBREY GWYNN

*University College*
*Dublin*

*St. Ignatius Loyola.* By Leonard Von Matt and Hugo Rahner. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. vi, 106. $6.50.)

When St. Ignatius Loyola died 400 years ago last July his secretary, Polanco, wrote, "He died without blessing us, without naming a successor, leaving the Constitution unconfirmed, without any of those significant gestures with which other servants of God have taken their earthly leave

—a death like that of any ordinary man." But this was no ordinary man. His work had been done so well that the mechanics of maintaining his society were easily discovered, and though he died so quietly, without the final holy dramatics of other saintly persons, without even blessing his little society, he has obtained far more for it by his prayers in heaven than a single, final, death-bed blessing could achieve.

This book is unique among biographies of the soldier-saint of the Basque country. It is sub-titled "A Pictorial Biography." But do not be misled. This is no mere popular treatment of a religious leader—no run-of-the-mill pictorial affair with a few faded portraits of Ignatius, of the ancestral home, and of a few obscure forebears. These are recent photographs of the beautiful scenery of Spain and Italy, of scenes which remain substantially unchanged since the days when Inigo, as he was generally called, fitted into them. These magnificent black and white photographs are breath-taking. They outdo the most glamorous travel brochures. And there are also reproductions of the standard paintings of Ignatius, four pictures of his death mask, and several fine shots of the decorative details of the principal Jesuit shrines.

The book is the joint work of Leonard von Matt and Father Hugo Rahner, S.J. Herr von Matt is responsible for the illustrations, presentation, and general design; Father Rahner wrote the text which the Reverend John Murray, S.J., has translated into English. Two maps of places in Spain associated with St. Ignatius were prepared by Robert Hasler. The text is brief, objective, informative. No scholarly apparatus is provided since none is required in a work of this sort. The photographs are selected to illustrate the matter just presented. There are five or six full page photographs for every two or three pages of text. Though the text is brief, there is no over-simplification of the subject, and no effort to coat his figure with the saccharine that has marred so many biographies of saints. Ignatius is presented as he was as a youth—vain, roistering, licentious—and as he was as mature man—humbled, charitable, bursting with zeal for souls and love of God. The frankness with which the early, dissolute years are admitted makes all the more remarkable and edifying the later regeneration of this tremendous soldier of Christ. It is good to see the facts presented simply and honestly. In presenting a saint as a human being with the darkened intellect and flabby will which are the lot of all of us, but as a human being who was able to rise above his limitations, the hagiographer makes his subject more credible and more imitable for religious and layman alike. Henry Regnery Company of Chicago may be proud of this book which is a superb piece of work in every way.

BRADFORD COLTON

*Saint Joseph's Cathedral*
*Hartford*

*Franz Xaver; sein Leben und seine Zeit.* Erster Band: *Europa, 1506-1541.* By Georg Schurhammer, S.J. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1955. Pp. xxx, 743. DM 48.)

From 1908 to 1912 Georg Schurhammer, S.J., labored in India. There he conceived a plan for writing the definitive biography of St. Francis Xavier. Not until the end of World War I, however, was he able to begin serious research. His first project was to read all the published biographies and the sources which they cited; then he gathered the publications of Xavier's contemporaries and studied the canonization process. Next item on his agenda was to digest all the material referring to Asia in the general archives of the Society of Jesus. In 1925 he published a small, popular biography which was quickly translated into English. Continuing his research for the next thirty years he wrote numerous articles for learned journals about specific aspects of the saint's life. But it was toward the end of 1955 before the first volume of his critical biography appeared in print. It embraces Xavier's first thirty-five years which were all spent in Europe. A second volume shortly to follow will cover his missionary career in Asia, and six additional volumes will complete the work: III—Letters; IV—Miracles; V—Cult; VI—Bibliography; VII-VIII—Iconography.

This study is not merely a biography. It is accurately entitled: *Franz Xaver: sein Leben und seine Zeit.* There is almost as much about his times in this first volume as there is about the saint himself. Most of this collateral material is as interesting as it is valuable; but some readers, no doubt, will find that for them detailed accounts of university life in Paris, of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, of the friends and benefactors of the early Jesuits, of the Inquisition in Portugal, of Prester John impede the progress of the story. The impressive learning and continuous reference to sources and their evaluation will prevent this book from ever being a popular biography. Rather it is destined to be the scholarly reference book on Xavier.

The present volume is divided into five books: I. Francis Xavier's youth (1506-1525) in which his family, education, religious training, and national background are all thoroughly investigated. II. His life at the University of Paris, where he met Ignatius of Loyola who regarded Francis as his most difficult conquest. Until their meeting Francis was the typical university master concerned with his coat of arms, benefice, and life of learning. Book III treats the efforts of the new group to journey to the Holy Land and the obstacles which they encountered. During this time Xavier was ordained a priest together with Ignatius, Rodrigues, Laynez, Bobadilla, and Codure. While awaiting developments they preached and performed errands of mercy. Book IV concerns the foundation of the

Society of Jesus. In these negotiations Xavier played a relatively insignificant part although he functioned briefly as the first secretary of the society. King John III of Portugal sought some Jesuits for India to convert the inhabitants of that popular land and Rodrigues and Bobadilla were assigned to the mission. But when Bobadilla became ill, Xavier was substituted. Book V describes the journey to Portugal, Xavier's stay in Lisbon, and his preparations for the journey. The king desired Rodrigues to remain in Portugal and thus Xavier sailed with two companions for India on his thirty-fifth birthday to become the most famous missionary of modern times.

In these pages there is no attempt to write hagiography in the popular acceptation of that term; it is the history of a man whose sanctity slowly but clearly emerges from his deeds and written words. For this reason the second volume covering his missionary labors should be especially valuable in separating the historical facts from the many legends which have encrusted his memory. The excellent typography of this book merits a special word of commendation; fine paper and clear type have made the book a pleasure to read. Thirty-three pages of detailed indexing give assurance that the 700 pages of text will be readily available for future reference.

HARRY C. KOENIG

*Sacred Heart Church*
*Chicago*

*La réforme ecclésiastique du diocèse de Clermont au XVII^e siècle.* By L. Welter. [Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Clermont-Ferrand, Tome XLV.] (Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1956. Pp. 283. Frs. 1,000.)

The religious movements of the *grand siècle* belong to the best explored topics of French ecclesiastical history. The role and position of the Huguenots and the famous debates over Gallicanism and Jansenism have always been the topics of countless learned dissertations. More recently H. Bremond supplied the spiritual background through a lucid analysis of the leading representatives of religious thought of the same era. Meanwhile, however, certain less spectacular aspects of the seventeenth century church life and organization remained in obscurity. Such is the case of the progress of a general ecclesiastical reform despite the fact that the disciplinary canons of the Council of Trent never had been officially promulgated by the royal government, jealously guarding its ancient Gallican privileges. Thus, the more or less belated execution of much needed reforms depended largely on the good will of diocesan authorities and the zeal of religious bodies.

The slow but eventually successful reform of the Diocese of Clermont in the Province of Auvergne is the subject of L. Welter's present study. Naturally enough, the activity of four reform-minded and capable bishops in succession remains always in the center of the author's attention, without forgetting the significance of various religious orders in control of over 100 establishments for both men and women. As long as the author remains in the field of reforms launched by the administration of the diocese the coverage is adequate, based as it is, largely on original documents available in the departmental archives of Puy-de-Dôme. But the activity of the various religious orders presents a far more difficult problem. To follow the story of each community or congregation is clearly impossible, while broad generalizations always involve the danger of inaccuracy. In this regard, local archives contain relatively little and the author relies chiefly on secondary sources. In the absence of such works the author made no attempt to search for material elsewhere, although the great collections of Paris, such as the Archives Nationales, include most likely a considerable amount of important documents, e.g., although the Cistercians possessed six houses in the diocese, the author has virtually nothing to say about them, except the convent of Eclache, for the sole reason that some material was locally available concerning that establishment. Speaking in general terms about the reform of the same order, the author could not avoid some misconceptions. Thus, contrary to his opinion, Cardinal La Rochefoucauld was enthusiastically supported by the group known as the Strict Observance; Richelieu was not appointed but elected as Abbot of Citeaux, and this happened not in 1634 but in 1635 (p. 71).

These shortcomings, however, are well compensated by indisputable merits. The subject is original, based largely on unexploited documentary material, and is rich in most revealing details. The author's skill in composition is remarkable, the structure of the work is clear and logical, and his style smooth and readable. A systematic bibliography, alphabetic index, and a map of the diocese would have greatly enhanced the work's practical usability.

LOUIS J. LEKAI

*University of Dallas*

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

*Documents of American Catholic History.* Edited by John Tracy Ellis. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 677. $8.75.)

For one who, like the present reviewer, cut his graduate teeth on Professor Commager's *Documents of American History,* the urgency for such

a collection as Monsignor Ellis has gathered here has long been apparent. The average student of the history of the American Church has been hampered by the difficulty of getting at the pertinent sources even for a general overview. Lacking, as we still are, a definitive history of the Church with adequate concern for the master documents, this is a serious and highly intelligent attempt to satisfy the want.

The question of what documents are essential for a right understanding of the growth and development of Catholicism in the United States is decidedly vexatious. Monsignor Ellis might have chosen to make this a somewhat dreary compilation of pontifical briefs and episcopal mandates, with such other official or semi-official writings as would provide more of a canonical than an historical background for the record. There is room for such a work, certainly, but even at its best it could not reveal the whole story. Indeed, there is a danger in writing American Church history from the point of view of the biographies of deceased bishops, fascinating as that approach might be. It might leave out Sister Blandina and Mr. Dooley, who are as much a part of it as the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Monsignor Ellis has made a deliberate effort to include as many facets of American Catholic life as could be reasonably documented. The colonial period, Spanish, French, and English, contributes a great many useful sources, hitherto scattered so widely as to be practically unavailable for the common reader. Documents of the national period take up the bulk of the volume, and here the matter of selection becomes acute. There is material, undoubtedly, for many more volumes of equal size, but under the limitations necessarily imposed on him there must be few who would quarrel with the essential rightness of the editor's choice.

Most students of American Catholic history have their own particular interests, obviously; some may feel that Monsignor Ellis has slighted them, or that he has included material of relative unimportance. Father Abram Ryan, who was surely not a great poet, is represented by several of his effusions, while our finest essayist, Agnes Repplier, is omitted. Yet the fact is that Father Ryan, in his time, made a far greater impact upon the American Catholic consciousness than did the somewhat exclusive lady from Philadelphia. Still, it might be questioned whether a few pages from "Our Convent Days" might not have been included, as enshrining in her amber the experience of a vanished era. And, come to think of it, what about *Tom Playfair?* A case might be made for Father Finn as exercising as potent an influence in the formation of the American Catholic character as *The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction.* A few excerpts, too, might have been given in illustration of the American Catholic pulpit. Archbishop Ireland is there, but not in his pulpit manner. What about Father Robert Fulton, S.J., whom Santayana remembered in his old age, or the notable Father John Cavanaugh of Notre Dame, for whom, as the

legend goes, a rooster was never anything but a chanticleer? American Catholic oratory may not have been permanently impressive, but in a day when the figure of the priest in the pulpit loomed larger than it does at present it played its part in shaping the Catholic mind. It would be interesting, at least, to read a page or two from the mission sermons of Father Arnold Damen, S.J.

But these are more in the nature of reflections than criticisms. On the basis of Monsignor Ellis' documents it is possible to gain a very fair and balanced picture of the Church in the United States at the various stages of her history. His editorial introductions to the individual excerpts are illuminating and meticulous; indeed, it could be said that he has provided a commentary which is very nearly a history in itself. And if the format of the book has made excision at times regrettably needful, the fault is compensated for by its admirable readability. One forgets that he is reading documents; he is carried along by the force and verve of a narrative of extraordinary vitality. The late Professor Richard J. Purcell, as the reviewer recalls it, was approached at the end of a two-hour lecture period by an anxious nun who wanted to know what text to use for his course. He rumpled his hair, threw down his battered Commager, and told her, "Sister, it's all there; anything else is what you would pay a man for figuring out what he thinks it means." In much the same way the heart of American Catholic history is in Monsignor Ellis' book of *Documents*. If we still have to figure out the meaning, that is the challenge and joy of our study.

✠ Robert J. Dwyer
*Bishop of Reno*

*American Catholicism*. By John Tracy Ellis. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 208. $3.00.)

Integrating the history of the Catholic Church in the United States with the general history of the country requires chiefly the introduction of religious facts into the general narrative. The absence of religious details in American historical writing can sometimes be corrected by the addition of significant biographical details and closer attention to the religious factors in such movements as the American Revolution, westward expansion, the controversy over slavery, and the Know-Nothing movement. Another method of supplying the religious story for the general narrative is by the study of parallel religious accounts in which particular phases of history are narrated in a supplementary way. These essays of Monsignor Ellis constitute an example of the second approach and they afford a

significant account of the Catholic story in American history in a way that will be serviceable not only to those who concentrate on the political aspects of American history but also to those who want an introduction to specialized Catholic history.

Catholic history in the United States partakes of the general history of the nation. In the colonial period Catholics were established in a special colony in Maryland and scattered in a very minor way in other colonies. They participated in the Revolution on both sides but as a compact group mostly on the American side. There were Catholics active in the formation of the new national government, in the early westward movement, and in the formation of national policies, both foreign and domestic. In all this there can scarcely be said to be a special Catholic history. But there is a specific Catholic history which runs parallel to this secular history, which is at the same time unique, just as Roman Catholicism has retained a unique position among the religious groups in the United States. Paralleling quite closely the formation and development of the government of the United States is the establishment in John Carroll of a Roman Catholic hierarchy and the development of a regularly functioning Roman Catholic organization complete with archbishops, bishops, provinces, dioceses, districts, pastors, parishes, and missions with intertwining religious societies of men and women. The common elements of these two stories are the Catholic lay people who were governed civilly by the democratic institutions of the American Republic and religiously by the Catholic hierarchy. In the American constitutional provision of disestablishment of religion there has been no serious conflict between the two authorities in the lives of Catholic laymen. There have been social conflicts, on education chiefly, and in community and economic life which have cast their shadows on both the religious and the political life of the country, but the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty have kept these conflicts on a minor key.

There is one way in which the Catholic history differs widely from the general history. Catholicism, while making ample allowance for national obligations and loyalties, does not consider religion as basically national. In the colonial period, the French and Spanish colonists were in a sense more Catholic than the English pioneers of Maryland and Pennsylvania because they more quickly established the full Catholic discipline and atmosphere, but the Catholicism in English America was the same Roman Catholicism. There was no real reorganization of Catholicism on the frontier or in a democratic atmosphere; there were only external adaptations of centuries-old discipline to a new scene.

Monsignor Ellis has in a brief compass delineated this adaptation and growth of the Catholic group in the United States. He has not rethought the colonial period as it was traced by John Gilmary Shea. In the second period, before the Civil War, he has sketched the growth of the Catholic

body by immigration and touched upon the conflicts that resulted from the amalgamation of an English Catholic minority and a larger non-English immigrant Catholic group and the further attempt to fit this larger body into the general American society. In the third lecture the same processes are shown as further complicated by American industrial progress, the new organized labor, newer immigrations, and social reform. In the final lecture, drawing upon his superior knowledge of the age of Cardinal Gibbons, the author deals with the reorganizations in the Catholic body to meet the changed circumstances of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century. Monsignor Ellis not only keeps his narrative factual and informative but maintains a good perspective. This is particularly noticeable in the third and fourth lectures. His chronology and select bibliography in the appendix are very useful tools for those who wish to correlate the Catholic story with the general American narrative or to pursue more deeply along the lines of this brief account.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

*University of Notre Dame*

*Stephen T. Badin: Priest in the Wilderness.* By J. Herman Schauinger (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1956. Pp. xiv, 317. $7.50.)

This biography of an emigré, the first priest ordained in the United States and, perhaps, the most famous missionary of the early West, is a companion volume to Professor Schauinger's *Cathedrals in the Wilderness* (Milwaukee, 1952). It supersedes J. W. Howlett's short account printed in 1916. Filled with almost constant movement, Badin's missionary career, beginning with his ordination in 1793, falls into two periods of about twenty-five years each, separated by a sojourn of nine years in Europe, and to the first of these periods in which he organized the Church in Kentucky preliminary to the establishment of a diocese, the author devotes about two-thirds of his book. He suggests that Badin left Kentucky in 1819 because "he was disappointed in his role in the future development of the diocese" as a result of disagreements with Bishop Benedict Flaget and the hostility of some of the laity. Even in Europe, however, he worked for the American missions, as is shown, especially by his correspondence with Bishop Edward Fenwick, and after his return to America in 1828 he reopened the Potawatomi mission, incidentally laying the foundations of the Church in northern Indiana and securing the site on which the University of Notre Dame was later established. Relinquishing this post about 1833, he assumed the venerable role of elder missionary of the West and his life was one of travel and unrelated episodes until his death in 1853.

Badin was pious, dynamic, and even heroic, while his intellectual attainments were high and he did not lose his literary interests. Apparently he was easily acclimated; few, if any, of his contemporaries had his knowledge of the condition of the Church and the measures useful for its progress; and his judgment and advice were usually sound. At the same time he was eccentric, difficult, and tactless, arousing antagonisms which, fortunately, do not appear to have had any serious or permanent result. This element in his personality must largely be attributed to his strict, possibly Jansenistic, training and to the influence of the western environment, as well as to his human inclinations. In recording his troubles with the Trappists, the Dominicans, parishioners, and Bishop Flaget, the author weighs opposing contentions and quotes Badin's defensive statements. He concludes that a reappraisal of the facts shows simply that the missionary was a strong, forthright character with the courage of his convictions. Throughout the work he stays close to primary sources, principally letters written by Badin himself, and thus the narrative is terse, with a minimum of background detail. The book has several illustrations, three appendices, a bibliography, and an index.

ROBERT GORMAN

*Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College*

*The Cavalry of Christ on the Rio Grande, 1849-1883.* By Bernard Doyon, O.M.I. (Milwaukee: Bruce Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 252. $5.00.)

Here is one of the many unwritten chapters of the heroic sacrifices made by pioneer missionaries in the Southwest in the spread of the Catholic faith. After the annexation of Texas to the United States, the reorganization of the Catholic Church in the state was largely the work of Bishop Jean Marie Odin. He it was who invited the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, then in Canada, to come to Texas where the need for laborers was great, to carry on the work begun by Spanish Franciscan missionaries over a century before. The field was vast and the faithful scattered throughout a land beguiling yet hostile to man, alternately baked by the burning sun and drenched by floods that swept everything away and left the people but scant means of subsistence.

In eleven chapters, well documented and based largely on the candid letters of the new pioneers, the story of their first foundation inspired by a daring born of enthusiasms and religious fervor, their second foundation, their ventures beyond the Rio Grande into Mexico that rose before their eyes as a mirage of the promised land, the hardships and sacrifices in tending the scattered flock over hundreds of ranches, riding constantly

on horseback across the wide valley now known as the Magic Valley of the Rio Grande, the countless obstacles encountered, the crisis that threatened the abandonment of the field after a quarter of a century of superhuman effort, and on to the final break of dawn for the vast Oblate mission in south Texas that came with the organization of their American province, authorized by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide on July 20, 1883, and ended all uncertainty concerning the future of the work, is vividly told.

The story is presented in a connected, straightforward, frank narrative that impresses the reader with the sincerity and fairness of the narrator. The strength of the spirit and the weakness of the flesh are brought out unsparingly, after the sources were carefully perused for facts and details. The archives of the Vincentian motherhouse in Paris, the manuscript collections of Americana at the University of Notre Dame, the correspondence of Bishop de Mazenod, and the archives in Lyons, Rome, New Orleans, the provincial house in San Antonio, and those in the Archdiocese of San Antonio and the Dioceses of Galveston, Corpus Christi, and Amarillo were all utilized.

This volume is a fitting tribute to the pioneers that labored unflinchingly to carry the comforts of religion to the scattered flock in south Texas, pursuing their discouraging task through the trying days that followed the war with Mexico, those that preceded the Civil War, and the darker days of Reconstruction, riding resolutely through droughts, storms, floods, and devastating yellow fever epidemics until the American Oblate province was erected and their Texan missions had been placed on a solid and lasting foundation. The reader will find here a number of interesting illustrations and a helpful alphabetical index to assist him in consulting this contribution to the literature on the Church in the Southwest, a subject that is gradually being brought out by contemporary research.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

*University of Texas*

*Worship and Work. Saint John's Abbey and University, 1856-1956.* By Colman J. Barry, O.S.B. (Collegeville: Saint John's Abbey. 1956. Pp. 447. $5.00.)

*Worship and Work* is an artistically exciting centennial history of the second oldest Benedictine abbey in the United States. From the pioneer days of Father Boniface Wimmer when the serenity of monastic life was disrupted on the frontier by grasshopper plagues, Indian raids, and natural disasters to the achievement of true university status in this century, these

dedicated monks labored valiantly for the advancement of culture and Christianity. The establishment of missions and schools in China, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the Bahamas has helped spread the Benedictine educational philosophy nurtured at St. John's.

Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, for all his conservatism in such twentieth-century matters as progressive education, accreditation, and over-specialization, encouraged advanced study by young Benedictines at leading universities here and abroad, helped promote the liturgical movement of Father Virgil Michel as a bridge between Catholics and others of the Christian community, and advised a church historian, "Publish the absolute truth, regardless of any and all considerations" (p. 287). Father Barry has adopted this principle in describing the internal dissensions which disrupted and impeded the order's work, especially in the era of Abbot Alexius Edelbrock when, to all appearances, Archbishop John Ireland mishandled the case of a rebellious priest.

Considerable attention is given the physical expansion of the college, the development of music as well as agricultural science, the relationship of St. John's to the West, and other topics of particular interest to religious and lay historians alike. Some of the limitations of institutional history are exposed in the author's excessive generosity in mentioning many names of little consequence, in his absorption at times with building expansion, and in his discussions of what seems to have been a fairly normal curriculum in the last century. The absence of academic consideration of such great intellectual controversies as those over Darwinism, pragmatism, biblical criticism, and infallibility may be explained, perhaps, in the Benedictine aims in education, in the nature of mission work, and in the faculty limitations of the time, but such voids in a university's history are disappointing. During Abbot Peter Engel's tenure, for instance, "there was a conscious effort at St. John's to remain apart from all of the American Catholic issues which centered around Archbishop Ireland's Faribault-Stillwater school experiment, the Cahenslyism furor, and the famed 'Americanism' controversy" (p. 252).

In full justice to Father Barry it must be noted how effectively he has presented the history of the abbey. Lucid, critical, and penetrating in his judgments, he is often humorous and always very human in his appraisals of teachers and administrators. The author's use of archives was intensive and extensive, while his descriptive passages are impressive. Woven into the account are colorful pictures of the years of settlement, incidents of general interest to all readers of American history, and movements originating at St. John's Abbey which have eventually affected all who are interested in the Catholic mind. Of special interest is the concern with things liturgical and the renaissance of music and the fine arts. More than a century ago Abbot Wimmer declared: "Art must go hand in hand with

religion. . . . Heretics have not often been converted by learned men, but rather by the beauty of the Catholic Church, by the holiness of her ministers and members, and by her prayers" (p. 235). Despite these undertones of anti-intellectualism, his words were prophetic of the most far reaching of the abbey's influences on the spiritual and intellectual life of our time.

Is it not encouraging to find the descendants of Cluny turning in their new building program for advice and professional services to such architects as Walter Gropius, Richard Neutra, Eero Saarinen, and Marcel Breuer? Is it not stimulating to read of the co-operation between St. John's and the State of Minnesota, the University of Chicago, and other public and private agencies and institutions? And is it not inspiring to find a religious institution appraised by one of that growing group of church historians whose research, scholarship, and writing reflect the highest standards of literary craftsmanship and historical criticism?

JOHN R. BETTS

*Boston College*

## ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

*Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus.* Volume I, *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods.* Edited by Hetty Goldman, with contributions by Dorothy H. Cox, Hetty Goldman, Virginia Grace, Frances J. Jones, and Anthony E. Raubitschek. (Part I: *Text,* Pp. vi, 420. Part II: *Plates;* Volume II, *From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age.* By Hetty Goldman, with Chapters by Machteld J. Mellink and I. J. Gelb and an Appendix by Frederick R. Matson. (Part I: *Text,* Pp. vii, 373. Part II: *Plates.*) (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1956. $36.00 per set for each volume.)

The investigation of the mound of Gözlü Kule on the outskirts of Tarsus was carried out in the years between 1935 and 1939—and on a smaller scale in 1947, 1948, and 1949—under the auspices of Bryn Mawr College, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Fogg Art Museum, and the Institute for Advanced Study. The appearance of Volume II of the *Excavations at Gözlü Kule* marks the completion of the publication of the results of the findings and the studies made by the veteran archaeologist Miss Hetty Goldman and her collaborators. Although it was impossible, owing to circumstances beyond the control of the investigators, to examine the whole area of Tarsus in comprehensive and definitive form as was the case at Troy, these two volumes at once take their place beside those on Troy,

in course of publication by the same press, as an indispensable and exemplary contribution in their field. In my review—especially since Volume I was not noticed previously in this journal—I shall follow the chronological order and begin with Volume II, which is devoted to Tarsus in the pre-Hellenic period.

Tarsus, as a site of geographic and strategic importance dominating the fertile Cilician plain, was constantly subject to the attacks and infiltrations of outside peoples from Neolithic times to the close of the Bronze Age. It never developed—at least for any considerable period—a culture that can be called indigenous in any strict sense. Its Neolithic pottery reveals the influence of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. Early Bronze II seems to have been a long and flourishing phase of culture at Tarsus, which was terminated by an attack and subsequent occupation by a people coming from the area of Troy in northwestern Asia Minor. Early Bronze III was brought to an end by great seismic disturbances which Schaeffer dates roughly around 2100-2000 B.C. The Middle Bronze Age, on the basis of the frequent fires evidenced by the blackened pottery, was a disturbed period during which Tarsus was under the domination of North Syria. At the beginning of Late Bronze I, Hittite influence was present, and during Late Bronze IIa the Hittites were in complete control. Under Hittite domination Tarsus was a rich and powerful city. In Bronze IIb Tarsus was thoroughly looted and destroyed by one of the groups to be identified with the Peoples of the Sea who attacked Egypt under Merneptah at the end of the thirteenth century B.C. The Mycenaean type of pottery brought with them by the destroyers of Tarsus would seem to connect them definitely with the Argive region of Greece. They did not, apparently, participate in the attack on Egypt but were content to establish themselves at Tarsus. Their own culture was not strong enough to replace the earlier one, for the Hittite type of pottery remains dominant. The culture of Tarsus steadily deteriorated and was at a low ebb at the beginning of the Iron Age. Such in brief are the main conclusions of Volume II.

Volume I, as indicated by its title, covers the Hellenistic and Roman periods. If the investigation of Gözlü Kule can be regarded as giving a fairly reliable cross-section of life at Tarsus as a whole, it is now clear that Hellenic influence at Tarsus was insignificant before the coming of Alexander. Under his successors and under the Romans, Tarsus became progressively hellenized, but at the same time she tenaciously maintained certain features of her traditional culture and continued to be influenced by her Asianic and North Syrian neighbors. In spite of the damage done by amateur investigators in the last century, and by the trenches dug by French troops in 1921, Miss Goldman and her co-workers have succeeded in establishing a sound stratigraphy for the period of the Hellenistic and Roman occupation of the site.

It may be said at the outset that the numismatic and especially the epigraphical finds are disappointing—undoubtedly to be explained by the fact that the site excavated was on the outskirts of ancient Tarsus and not an important part of the city. Of the fifteen inscriptions found, all are fragmentary and, with the exception of Nos. 12, 14, and 15, which may be as early as the first century A.D., are later than 350 A.D. Almost all the coins found are bronze. Apart from a coin of Philip II of Macedon, the Greek and Roman coins range from Alexander to the last years of Theodosius II (408-450 A.D.). They supply, however, precious information on the issues of Tarsus and fill gaps in our knowledge of that important mint. A profusion of lamps and terracotta figurines was brought to light. While much was already known about the products of Tarsus in this respect, much new material has been added and old and new have been systematically classified and correlated with our knowledge of lamps and figurines from other areas. It is the pottery discovered at Tarsus in the Hellenistic and Roman strata, however, that has contributed most to our knowledge. The pottery is almost entirely of the common type intended for daily use and its evolution can be traced for seven centuries without a break. Apart from Antioch, we have not had any comparable control of pottery styles in any other center in the eastern Mediterranean area. Native wares as well as foreign imports at Tarsus can be differentiated, outside influences determined, and local peculiarities, innovations, and techniques definitely established.

The *Text* in each volume is clear and precise, there are excellent tables in which finds are grouped and classified, and full indices are furnished. The two volumes of well executed *Plates* are invaluable. Volume I contains 276 plates and nine plans, and Volume II, 458 plates and twenty-six plans. Almost all finds, including the inscriptions, are represented, there are line drawings of pottery shapes, and cross references are always given from text to plate. Volume II is furnished with a valuable summary or conclusion. It is to be regretted that a similar summary was not added at the end of Volume I.

*Excavations at Gözlü Kule* is an outstanding contribution. It does great honor, not only to Miss Goldman and her co-workers, but also to the Princeton University Press.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

*The Catholic University of America*

*Alfred the Great.* By Eleanor Shipley Duckett. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 221. $3.75.)

This "very simple book," which "gladly" acknowledges its debt to earlier scholarship, is an attempt to present to lay readers a warm and sympa-

thetic portrait of the remarkable Alfred, a portrait "suggested" (the word is the author's) more than dictated by the sources, in the painting of which a lively imagination is never reluctant to provide details to fill out the scanty historical facts. Miss Duckett does, however, include a "brief list of books" (pp. 208-215), which is more a recommendation for further readings than a bibliography, but which even in this limited sense is marred by the truncated form in which articles in learned journals are cited. In constructing her picture of Alfred, the author makes full and effective use of the techniques of the novelist. She obviously strives to create and sustain a mood, to carry the taste and flavor of what she feels to have been Alfred's England. In this she is helped by a distinguished style, a personal acquaintance with her story's geographic setting (effectively presented by four good maps), and especially by a warm admiration for Alfred, his times, and his England. This reviewer found the book enjoyable reading and will not hesitate to recommend it to his undergraduates, in the hope that Miss Duckett's love for and appreciation of mediaeval civilization might prove infective. For this purpose, the chapters of Alfred's cultural activities (pp. 106-189), giving both an analysis of and liberal citations from his famous translations, should prove particularly valuable, and interesting too is the little section (pp. 199-207) on Alfred's *fortleben* in English history and letters.

However, the book suffers as well as benefits from the author's desire to lend color to her material. Her pretense of knowing the quaint details of Alfred's behavior as a boy (pp. 20 ff.) or how he personally reacted to the events of his reign will annoy many scholarly readers, but this reviewer will concede that it all seems innocuous enough. More serious is that the author's search for literary effect does violence to her history. "The ninth century," the book begins, "in all its course was the century of Alfred the Great." Surely, with a Charlemagne and a Pope Nicholas I sharing the stage we cannot be expected to take this seriously. Yet as if to give substance to the statement, Miss Duckett attempts, ill-advisedly it seems to this reviewer, to depict the continental events of Alfred's times as the "background" of his reign. The skimpy pages so dedicated to isolated events serve only to convey the impression that little Wessex was sort of the hub of the ninth-century universe, surrounded by exterior darkness of dimly discerned movements. Further, the author's overly romantic concept of national characteristics—that "Scandinavian impulse towards art and culture," (p. 13), that "Celtic consciousness of Nature, a love of solitude, a passion for learning," (p. 180)—strikes this reviewer as nothing so much as old-fashioned. Then, too, references to the English "people" are bathed in a romantic glow, and Alfred himself appears as sort of an enlightened humanitarian struggling to bring education to all, "the intellectual and the simple" and even the "ignorant peasants." This reviewer

must also confess that he is somewhat mystified by the unqualified statement (repeated on the book's jacket) that Alfred was "the only king whom England has ever call 'the Great'." In the Bryn Mawr Library, the book will stand on a shelf not far removed from volumes prominently entitled *Canute the Great*, and Canute, whatever his nationality, was as much King of England as, and, indeed, of more of England than, Alfred. However, these faults are more than offset by the fact that this is a labor of love presented by a gifted and experienced writer with a good familiarity with the historical record. In a popularization, that is a rare and admirable combination.

DAVID HERLIHY

*Bryn Mawr College*

## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Sir Kenelm Digby, the Ornament of England, 1603-1665.* By R. T. Petersson. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 366. $6.00.)

Sir Kenelm Digby aspired to be, and was, diplomat, philosopher, physician, poet, cook, naval commander, bibliophile, art patron, religious leader, scientist, and lover. He suffered the twin misfortunes of being a virtuoso in an age of increasing specialization and a Catholic in an age when that conviction became increasingly unpopular. Born just before the Gunpowder Plot and just after the death of Elizabeth, he lived to see the beginning but not the end of the great plague of London in 1665.

Digby makes a colorful subject for a biographer, although the reader must occasionally remind himself of the fact in perusing Mr. Petersson's scholarly and thorough study. Like many virtuosi of the Renaissance, Digby's notable activities could fill several entertaining volumes and he exhibits the customary boundless energy and curiosity of earlier virtuosi. If the times had been more propitious he might have placed his name with the greater men of the previous two centuries, although one cannot ignore the accomplishments of a man who helped found the Royal Society, whose literary opinions carried great weight in the highest circles, and whose religious writings still attract readers.

To the study of this complex person in a complex age Dr. Petersson brings a background in both literature and history. He adds to these backgrounds rather impressive research and study. He writes of the seventeenth century with admirable and enviable familiarity.

Mr. Petersson makes Sir Kenelm a touchstone of the age, the perfect example of the "extravert" type of Jung's formulation. This (according to the author) explains Digby seeming "the just measure of perfection" to an Italian prince, "the Mirandola of his age," to Allen, "arrant mountebank," to John Evelyn, the ideal of the *honnête homme* to the French, "the Pliny of our age for lying," to Henry Stubbe. The extravert must please the crowd even at the cost of some extravagance, and, perhaps, lack of fulfillment.

If Sir Kenelm serves as "a remarkably accurate index to England's book of the time," it then remains to explain his re-conversion and adherence to a declining faith. Not only did Digby adhere to Catholicism, he suffered considerably for (and through) the Church. The author seems to draw a rather sharp distinction between the "external" and "internal" Digby, the former to be explained in Jungian terms, the latter by Christian love. This resolves the paradox—perhaps.

JOHN KAMERICK

*Kent State University*

*Mazzini and the Secret Societies.* By E. E. Y. Hales. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1956. Pp. xi, 226. $4.95.)

In this readable and interesting study E. E. Y. Hales, a serious and diligent scholar, who had already revealed himself in his volume *Pio Nono* (London, 1954) as a prominent student of the Risorgimento, tells the full story of the early life of Giuseppe Mazzini, more precisely from his birth in 1805 to 1837, the year in which he renounced, temporarily, all further attempts to change the political complexion of Italy and of Europe through violent revolution. This is a highly important period in Mazzini's life for, as the author points out, it was "the creative" and "the decisive" part. It was during those years that Mazzini not only worked indefatigably in the Carboneria, Giovine Italia, and Giovine Europa, but it was, too, the period during which he evolved his "new religious synthesis" to which he adhered for the rest of his life. The serious student of the Risorgimento must understand this phase of his life if he wishes to know Mazzini at all, for with him politics and religion were inseparable; indeed, his political ideals were always reflected in his religious views. With scrupulous care and with commendable impartiality, Mr. Hales investigates the origins and development of Mazzini's theological ideas and succeeds in portraying him, not as the revolutionary who with dagger and bomb threatened the

existence of the princes and kings then in power, but neither does he depict Mazzini with the halo with which liberals have been wont to crown him.

Of particular interest is the chapter on Mazzini's friendships and infatuations from Lausanne to the Jura in which the author traces the financial difficulties he experienced with his friends, his wretched poverty, his separation from the Ruffinis, and the bitter winter he spent in Switzerland —circumstances which contributed in lowering his morale and which explain the feeling of despair that took hold of him, especially when he saw himself suspected of ambition and of other degrading traits. It was then that Mazzini suffered the tempest of doubt which, however, soon served to confirm him in his faith. In the chapter on Mazzini's theology, "God and Progress," Mr. Hales very properly shows that martyrdom was, to Mazzini, man's highest act and that the whole question of martyrdom preoccupied him because he was certain that Italians could never win their liberty until they had learned to die for it.

There is no doubt that Mazzini was a vain and a fanatical dreamer who believed himself commissioned by heaven to cut and to carve the Italian people into a shape conformable to his own archetypal conceptions. No one questioned the sincerity of his devotion to Italy and to the Italian cause; his intellectual powers and his force of enthusiasm made him conspicuous in an age which counted many conspicuous men. Indeed, his courage, loyalty, and faith revived the heroes of Plutarch; yet, even those who praised him seriously asked what had he done for Italy's sake in all those years which he had given to study, toil, dangerous enterprises, and to exhausting and hopeless exile? What had been the result of all his industry? The answers are not simple. But it was admitted that Mazzini was a leader and champion of democracy in Europe. Suffering, persecution, and unequalled devotion to general progress and emancipation, marked luminously the strain of his perilous but lofty spirit. There were many who believed, and still believe, that there was a power of reasoning in Mazzini, an unsullied moral purity, a chivalrous veracity and frankness, an utter abnegation of self, and a courage that had stood the severest trials, which commanded and command not only respect but veneration. Mazzini belonged to the martyr age of Italian liberalism, and in him many Italians and liberals everywhere recognize one of those iron men who are able to oppose tyranny and profligacy even while they stand alone, the apostle of reformation, the originator and herald of democratic principles. Chiefly by the example of his devotion to a noble cause, Italians were constantly supported by Mazzini in their struggle to achieve the political independence and unity of their country.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

*Columbia University*

*The Paris Commune in French Politics, 1871-1880.* Two Volumes. By Jean T. Joughin. [Johns Hopkins Studies in Hisotrical and Political Science.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1955. Pp. 226; ix, 529. $7.50.)

The Paris Commune of 1871 has always been more important for what has been read into it and argued about it than for the actual event itself. With this historical truism Jean Joughin introduces his exhaustive study of the influence of the commune on domestic French politics in the first decade of the Third Republic. In two volumes (which one feels might have been more modestly priced since they have paper covers) he describes the nine-year struggle of the Radical Republicans and Socialists to secure complete amnesty for the imprisoned and exiled Communards. A partial victory was secured in 1879 and total amnesty in 1880.

The main themes developed are the following: 1) The chief concern throughout of most of the Republicans (and especially of Gambetta) was to save the republic from its enemies and to establish it more firmly. Hence they avoided controversial issues wherever possible. For eight years they steadily opposed amnesty only to turn abruptly about, champion it, and secure its adoption when they came to realize its general popularity with the electorate. 2) The whole collectivist left developed a cult of the commune and used this to promote proletarian solidarity against the bourgeoisie by depicting the commune as a struggle of the workers against their capitalist exploiters. The left employed street demonstrations to whip up sentiment against the government, ran ex-Communards as candidates for the assembly to publicize the plight of those yet unpardoned or unamnestied, lionized any exiled Communards who were allowed to return to France from New Caledonia, and denounced the opportunism of the Republicans on the whole amnesty question. The issue itself was the chief bond holding the left together and when the victory was at length secured the French Socialist movement rapidly disintegrated into disputatious fragments. 3) The Bonapartists championed amnesty purely as a means of gaining attention and support for their reviving cause. 4) The whole right saw the commune as synonymous with social revolution and terror and opposed amnesty throughout. 5) In the end, the grant of amnesty produced neither the horrors imagined by the right nor the grandeur predicted by the left. Within a few years the whole issue had been virtually forgotten.

In this extremely detailed account of the long fight for amnesty the author provides the reader, as a by-product, with an excellent picture of the workings of the first governments and assemblies of the Third Republic. The passionate bitterness of French politics, and the vast capacity of politicians and newspapers for venemous invective, glare forth

from innumerable pages (some of the better examples appear on pp. 338, 373, 375, 474-475). Joughin is sufficiently sympathetic to the French republican tradition to call expulsion of the Jesuits a "reform" (p. 354) and habitually to describe anyone to the right of the Moderate Republicans as a "reactionary." But aside from these instances the treatment of issues and parties is remarkably free from partisanship of any kind. The index is exceptionally full. All things considered, this is a solid, valuable monograph on one of the most inflammatory issues which plagued the infancy of the Third Republic.

BERNARD NORLING

*University of Notre Dame*

## AMERICAN HISTORY

*An Historian's World. Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson.* Edited by Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1956. Pp. xi, 382. $6.00.)

No student of historiography is unacquainted with the name, and something of the scholarly achievement of J. Franklin Jameson. Through his books, articles, and essays he raised the standards of the profession. The inspiration he radiated and the influence he wielded in the interest of historical research are, perhaps, beyond measure. He was one of the founders of the American Historical Association, 1884, and was its president in 1907. The *American Historical Review* was founded in 1895 and until 1928 Jameson was the editor of the *Review,* with the exception of the years 1901-1905, during which he taught history at the University of Chicago. The continued high quality of the *Review* over the years compelled respect and confidence of scholars here and abroad.

Without Jameson's initiative and persistent efforts, historical material in possession of our national government, perhaps, would not be presently housed in the National Archives. Nor would scholars, in all likelihood, have access, now, to the *Dictionary of American Biography,* without Jameson's inspiration and fervent support of this fundamental instrument. It is, indeed, no overstatement to claim that Jameson "had done more than any living man to promote sound historical research in America, and every historian in this country is under personal or professional obligation to him." In every capacity in which he served his profession Jameson was a tireless seeker and skillful promulgator of the "fact" in history. No

matter where it might lead, the fact was to be unerringly followed. No institution ever so powerful, no preconception ever so established, must deter the historian in pursuit of, and communication of, the fact. To this purpose, he dedicated his influential careers as director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1905-1928, and chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, 1928-1937.

John Franklin Jameson (1859-1937) was an extensive correspondent. Thousands of his letters are extant. Miss Donnan and Dr. Stock, who personally were well acquainted with Jameson, have presented students with a very valuable book in this selected and edited collection of some 500 of his letters to scholars, and others, both in America and Europe. This collection of hitherto unpublished letters covers the years 1880-1937.

If cautious reliance may be put on the accuracy of the portrait of the past as drawn by the historian, the student must have well-founded confidence in the integrity and competence of the historian. To obtain this confidence, the student requires knowledge of personal as well as professional characteristics of the historian. The more that is known specifically about him, the more meaningful are his communications. The Jameson correspondence can contribute toward our better understanding of many eminent historians. It includes many names prominent in the literary, educational, and political world. In varying degree these letters reveal something of Jameson of value to the student. It is the abundance of letters addressed to a long list of historians by Jameson that makes this collection particularly worthwhile for the student of historiography. To indicate a few of the historians with whom Jameson corresponded may suffice to whet curiosity to the point that the student will want to consult the book: Clarence W. Alvord, Henry Adams, Charles M. Andrews, Charles A. Beard, James Bryce, Henry E. Bourne, Edmund C. Burnett, Max Farrand, Carl R. Fish, Marcus Jernegan, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Charles H. Haskins, George M. Trevelyan, Conyers Read, and Henri Pirenne. There are scores of others equally as significant.

There is no biography of Jameson and, therefore, this useful collection of letters may be an inspiration for such an undertaking. Indeed, historical students and particularly historiographers are indebted to Miss Donnan and Dr. Stock for their fruitful labors, and to the American Philosophical Society for the publication of the book in an impressive format. It is unfortunate that neither of the editors lived to see their collection in its final handsome form. The letters for the years 1928-1937 were selected by Mr. John B. Riggs, with assistance of Dr. St. George S. Sioussat and David C. Mearns of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. Information about hundreds of influential people, and insights into countless historical events are manifest in the

letters proper. The copious footnotes, and the Jameson Diary, however, extensively used by the editors may prove to be far more useful than the correspondence itself. The seventeen-page introduction to the letters which Miss Donnan was able to complete is a good guide to the cardinal events in which Jameson was involved over his seventy-eight years. This introduction and the chronological order of the letters, 1880-1937, facilitate the use of the correspondence.

This is a technical book. It is competently edited; it is a collection of letters of an able technician in history. It has been published, it appears, to serve as a technical assistance to better historiography. It should, indeed, prove valuable to the historiographer, and to the serious historical student, as well. It can offer little to sustain the interest of the general reader of history, despite its felicity of style and its commendable order. It can offer very little more to the student of ideas. "I am rather inept in all matters of philosophy and theory," Jameson told Charles A. Beard. There is much in the letters to confirm this self-appraisal. Written data of the past, from which philosophy is divorced, if not impossible, is quite indistinguishable from merely antiquarian reports. The writing may well represent painstaking research. It can not be history. Yet historical theory unsupported by scholarly data must be meaningless. To be disencumbered by the "facts" may permit facile rhetoric, but it is not history either. Neither the unphilosophic antiquarian nor the data-less philosopher is a historian. Jameson, however, well served the historian's world. His letters should be known. No student of the past has been more dedicated to scholarly research than he. He was, as described by the New York *Times*, in his lifetime, "an ambassador to scholars." It is because of this fact that the selected correspondence of Jameson should find a respected place in the reference library of every historian. His letters make his influence, and that of many historians, far more meaningful.

JAMES A. O'CONNELL

*St. John's University*
*New York*

*Charles McLean Andrews. A Study in American Historical Writing.* By A. S. Eisenstadt. [Number 588, Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xx, 273. $5.00.)

The name of Charles McLean Andrews (1863-1943) has been a prominent one in American historiography for just about half a century. The

publication during 1934-1938 of the four volumes dealing with *The Colonial Period of American History* marked the climax of long years of work and teaching in the field. Now we have the first full study of Andrews and his system, covering the background and preparation, the development of ideas, the decades of training younger historians, and finally the production in older age of the *magnum opus*.

A product of Herbert Baxter Adams' famous seminar at the Johns Hopkins and its emphasis on the scientific treatment of historical data, Andrews was not at first drawn to American history or the colonial era. A trip to London in 1893 to work on phases of mediaeval history, with a side visit to the Public Record Office on an errand for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, changed the entire picture. The discovery of a wealth of manuscript materials and the realization that the colonial period had been neglected caused Andrews to devote the rest of his life to the remedy of the defect. He was impressed with the need for viewing the American colonies from the English point of view; his aim was to put the "colonial" back into "the colonial period of American history." The initial step was to prepare guides to the American materials in the English archives, and the volumes he issued were to serve as keys to the vast mine of documents dealing with the colonies. At intervals over the years he was to devote much time to the task of supervising the transcription of important British records. He added an exhaustive knowledge of all major manuscript collections in the United States. The result was the founding of a new school of American colonial history. At Yale from 1910 until 1931, Andrews steered apprentices along the lines he established, insisting always that the young men seek to achieve the goal of scientific history, testing data as in a laboratory and striving for impartiality, moderation, and sound judgment. Then Andrews retired to work on his own major enterprise. When the work appeared, it almost seemed that it was outdated, for now a "new history" was coming to the fore. Some of Andrews' ideas came under attack by younger scholars; his emphasis on purely institutional history was criticized, and it was said that in putting the "colonial" back into American colonial history he did so at the expense of removing some of the "American."

This survey provides an excellent view of an entire era in American historical writing and should be required reading for all neophytes. The author has supplied a useful chronology of Andrews' career and the contemporary developments in historiography, as well as a select bibliography listing the Andrews publications which trace the development of his system.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

*Loyola College*
*Baltimore*

*American Paradox: The Conflict of Thought and Action.* By Merle Curti. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 116. $2.75.)

This slim volume records three lectures delivered by Professor Curti at the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. The material was originally presented as a presidential address to the American Historical Association and published as "Intellectuals and Other People," *American Historical Review,* LX (January, 1955), 259-282. But the topic, one which has received trenchant scrutiny in the past decade, deserves a wider distribution than is possible through a scholarly journal. In these lectures an eminent historian examines the paradox—that the Americans have had an affirmative attitude toward knowledge, but at the same time tended to be suspicious of intellectuals. The first lecture, "The Uses of Knowledge," optimistically points out that American experience, geographic and social mobility, economic expansion, the rise of political democracy, and the popularization of knowledge have proven Bacon's assertion that knowledge is power. Despite this intellectual heritage there remained a "Revolt Against Reason," the title of the second lecture. Among the various possible factors in popular anti-intellectualism which carry some weight, the author suggests evangelical Protestantism, frontier attitudes, the workings of democracy, and the impact of business on American life.

But the intellectuals also have contributed to anti-intellectualism. Instrumentalism and progressive education with Darwinism, Marxism, and Freudianism are the bases of "the reasoned revolt against reason," although Curti believes that the misapplication of these brought this about. To account for the recent attacks on intellectual values, Curti discounts the above factors except one, for he attributes the assaults to the impact of totalitarianism and the cold war and the equalitarianism associated with democracy. The final lecture, "Crisis in Education," offers a working definition of an intellectual and indicates the deep cleavage between intellectuals and other Americans. To counteract this antagonism, he argues that Americans must be taught that all skills and talents are socially useful and important.

These informative and stimulating lectures with their refreshing self-criticism are but a prelude to the further studies which are necessary to afford a complete understanding of the roles, values, and status of American intellectuals. Space does not permit one to raise the many specific questions suggested by the work, for not all will agree with some of the value judgments; nevertheless, the work is distinguished throughout for its objectivity. To the general reader and the harried scholar the

historical bases of the anti-intellectual temper of our times will prove invaluable and timely.

ANTHONY F. TURHOLLOW

*Loyola University*
*Los Angeles*

*Beyond the Dreams of Avarice.* By Russell Kirk. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. x, 339. $4.50.)

In this volume Russell Kirk has collected a number of essays most of which have previously appeared in various magazines. The book falls into two parts. The first, entitled "American Observations," consists of twelve essays of varying length which treat of matters of concern primarily to citizens of the United States in the fields of morals, politics, and education. The second part also consists of twelve essays which, with the exception of the last, "Pico della Mirandola and Human Dignity," discuss various aspects of contemporary British life.

It is difficult to review a book of this kind. The author ranges widely and goes deeply. At best this reviewer can indicate some observations of the author which struck him as of interest and pith. In an essay, "The American Scholar and the American Intellectual," Mr. Kirk discusses "the lamentable plight of the American intellectual" as seen by himself. After citing Cardinal Newman's remark that "in morals, as in physics, the stream cannot rise higher than the source," the author gives it as his opinion that "the unrest and ill repute" of the American intellectual are due to a quite general acceptance by those who so regard themselves of a divorce between knowledge and religious truth. It would appear to be correct that the high esteem accorded naturalism by the academic world in the United States for the past seventy-five years—and for the most part the academic world is the intellectual world in the United States—has led to a great deal of *docta ignorantia,* assertive egotism, and moral debility in American intellectual circles. Knowledge and wisdom have not advanced together. Further on in the same essay Mr. Kirk comments on the self-consciousness characteristic of intellectuals and, indeed, there is something rather ridiculous about people, especially in the United States, who dub themselves intellectuals and then complain, in terms current in late nineteenth-century European class societies, that they are not listened to when they mount the tripod to prophesy. This rather bland ignoring of those who consider themselves intellectuals, however, can be a source of danger. As Toynbee has pointed out, the hallmark of the proletarian is a feeling that he has been cheated out of his rightful place in society and the self-conscious and often self-pitying intellectual has not proven

immune to the blandishments of pseudo-reformers who, Circe-like, promised him the recognition to which he felt entitled and of which he felt deprived. Such an alienation, no matter whose fault it is, is not a desirable thing as is being more and more realized.

The essay, "American Conservatism and American Liberalism," commences with some remarks on the low estate of American political speculation since the Civil War. "Things," the author says, "were in the saddle, and most men appeared to be satisfied to let Things ride." This situation, in his opinion, is hazardous. While the great body of the American electorate has acted and still acts on the principles of the Christian ethical system, the common law, and representative government, all inculcating respect for human beings, in Mr. Kirk's mind there is need for a restatement and reaffirmation of these principles. Over the years sappers and miners have been at work. These principles have been undermined by secularized schooling, the mobility of American life, and the great advances in recent years in technology which last, as did Newton's physics in the eighteenth century, lead men to think that they are about to solve the riddle of the universe. There is need for reflection on first principles lest men, proving unable to control what they have let loose, feel compelled or are compelled to let Orwell's "Big Brother" do it for them.

Enough, it is presumed, has been said to give an idea of the general tenor of the essays. The author is well known as a conservative but, in his own words, he realizes quite well that, "We cannot live without continuity, and we cannot live without prudent change." Like many another, however, he is wary of sweeping changes proposed by men who profess, and often boastfully, to be among the *déracinés*. On the other hand, there are those so deeply set in their intransigent opposition to any change that their position amounts to radicalism. These would be as willing to exploit intelligent conservatives as their *vis-à-vis* of the left have exploited the vague impulses of amiable people. Both radicals of the right and left are for governments by a class and, as Fennimore Cooper pointed out, are "aristocrats in principle" whatever their professed beliefs. Both are equally to be feared when they come bearing gifts.

VINCENT C. HOPKINS

*Fordham University*

*Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940.* Compiled and Edited by Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 483. $6.50.)

Professors Pochmann and Schultz have compiled and edited an indispensable and handy reference tool for all students of German-American

cultural exchange. The result of over two decades of investigation and research, this bibliography is worthy of being included in the library and archival holdings of both America and Germany. It should accelerate much-needed study in the field of German-American immigration history with its 12,000 cultural, political, sociological, religious, literary, ethnographic, economic, and artistic sources selected from 30,000 books and articles surveyed in the principal library and archival depositories of the United States, Germany, and England. An excellent introduction traces the scope of the bibliography and supplies a fascinating survey of American sources of German materials, German-American research associations, and co-operating European agencies. The authors chose 1940 as a terminal date for their bibliography of German culture in America because the *American German Review* has included an annual bibliography of German-American publications in its April number from that year forward.

If each immigrant group that makes up the American nation had a similar bibliographical reference, a singular advance in immigration studies would be healthily accelerated. The scope and industry of this effort is both praiseworthy and impressive. Divided into two parts, the bibliography includes an alphabetical ordering by author, and a subject index of specific areas and divisions. Both bibliography and subject index are cross indexed with serial numbers. Unfortunately, the University of Wisconsin Press saw fit to have this work lithographed from type script. As a result the type is small, the book is undistinguished typographically, and suffers in its over-all effect.

Since no work is ever perfect, it is almost cavalier to point out the inevitable mistakes or misspellings which will be apparent to students of German-American studies in this bibliography. Every serious student has his special items which he thinks could have been included. The compilers have, moreover, carefully delineated the scope of their task, and detail in their introduction the corollary existing bibliographical sources in this field which they wisely decided not to repeat in their work. Dr. Pochmann clearly states that this work is not final, but rather a point of departure for future and more definitive special bibliographies. But at the same time he states: "I believe I neglected to incorporate few titles relevant to any important aspect of Germanic cultural influence in America, be it in literature, philosophy, education, religion, politics, sociology, ethnology, economics, industry, or the arts and sciences" (p. 12). With this statement it is necessary to take serious exception. The references to German-American influences on American Catholicism are decidedly inferior to the treatment of German-American Protestant publications. More striking, a reference to such a basic person as Peter Paul Cahensly, his influence on American immigrant developments, or the storm of literature connected with "Cahenslyism" cannot be found anywhere in this

bibliography. It is difficult to understand this omission since so much of the causal development of American Catholic attitudes toward immigration, the Americanization of the immigrant, and the fusion of separate national groups such as the Germans resulted from this important phase of nineteenth-century American religious experience.

COLMAN J. BARRY

*Saint John's University*
*Collegeville*

*Edmund Burke, New York Agent, with his letters to the New York Assembly and intimate correspondence with Charles O'Hara, 1761-1776.* By Ross J. S. Hoffman. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1956. Pp. ix, 632. $6.50.)

Most Americans are familiar with Edmund Burke as the sympathetic member of Parliament who spoke favorably for the colonists. Moreover, Burke's activities in Parliament as colonial agent for New York are well known and have been covered in previous biographies. However, not until Burke's letters to the New York Assembly and to Charles O'Hara were discovered among the Wentworth-Fitzwilliams manuscripts in 1949 were we able to see the deep significance of his political connections with the colony. Of almost equal significance is Burke's correspondence with Charles O'Hara of Annaghmore and County Sligo. Until O'Hara's death in 1776, Burke kept up a continuous correspondence with the popular Irish-Protestant politician. The letters between the two men are not only interesting from the historical content in the light they throw on the events of the day, but these letters are also interesting examples of O'Hara's humor. The correspondence between the two men shows an intimate relationship between the O'Hara and Burke families and makes a valuable source of information available for the present biographies of Edmund Burke.

With these newly-found letters available Ross Hoffman has been able to write a very interesting account of Edmund Burke and his relationship with the New York Assembly. In addition to the historical narrative, Professor Hoffman has compiled the correspondence between Burke and O'Hara in convenient topical manner. The reader will find many interesting observations made by these two keen Irishmen. As an example, Burke wrote of his first meeting with William Pitt who had just split with Rockingham over the provisions of the revenue act of 1764. This meeting left Burke with a feeling that the "Great Commoner" was armed with

only "a few rusty prejudices." In another letter to O'Hara Burke observed that Pitt, in a speech against the revenue act, "was . . . too virtuous to be honest."

Professor Hoffman has made a fine contribution to American history in this well-organized, readable, and informative sketch of Burke and his recently discovered letters. It is a book worthy of study by those interested in the American Revolution and in Edmund Burke.

PETER K. EWALD

*New York University*

*The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860.* By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1956. Pp. xix, 324. $5.00.)

Some years ago Professor Billington surveyed the westward movement in a lengthy work entitled *Westward Expansion* (1949). That outstanding accomplishment earned for him the opportunity to write the book on the far western frontier for the New American Nation Series. The Turnerian theme, that the frontier environment shaped western institutions and affected the lives of the pioneers, dominates the interpretation evident in both of these works. But there the similarity ends. *Westward Expansion* traces the story of the frontier from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific. *The Far Western Frontier* discusses the movement of the settlers, trappers, and traders into the Southwest, the Rocky Mountain country, and the Pacific slope area during the years 1830-1860. *Westward Expansion,* intended as a classroom text, was without footnotes; *The Far Western Frontier* has many footnotes—usually from diaries, memoirs, or other primary sources. *Westward Expansion* was criticized as being a detailed recitation of the facts, and its author was charged with failing to capture the spirit of the West or realizing that it was vigorous, interesting, and alive. No such criticism can be made of the *Far Western Frontier,* for it is readable, spirited, and exciting. In other words, Professor Billington did not simply lift material from *Westward Expansion* and put it within new covers. He does make use of identical sources at times, but the new approach, the introduction of additional material, and the colorful story-like narrative make the second a *new* book—and an excellent one. The jacket blurb says: "In *The Far Western Frontier,* Professor Billington neglects neither drama nor heroism, while at the same time he brings to his interpretation of the period both scientific objectivity and critical acumen." The reviewer concurs and predicts that this new work will be

one of the most popular and readable of all the volumes which, collectively, will compose the New American Nation Series.

To disagree with Professor Billington as to what was included or excluded might border on being picayunish. To the reviewer it seemed strange that the railroad surveys and the Indian troubles of the 1850's, the camel experiment, and the activities of Father DeSmet were omitted. Jason Lee (and the Methodist missions in Oregon) and Marcus Whitman (and the Presbyterian missions) received more than mere mention. But Father DeSmet and the Catholic missions (St. Mary's among the Flatheads, the mission of St. Ignatius among the Kalispels, and the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes) were forgotten.

Thirty-two illustrations and fourteen maps add to the value of Professor Billington's latest book. Twelve critical bibliographical essays—one for each chapter of the book—and a good index are added features of an excellent volume.

FRANK L. KLEMENT

*Marquette University*

*John Quincy Adams and the Union.* By Samuel Flagg Bemis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. Pp. xv, 546, xix. $8.75.)

This is not another book on the diplomatic history of the United States, but readers of Professor Bemis' many works in that field will be prepared for this lengthy account of John Quincy Adams in his second career. It is the story of the one-term president and the representative in Congress for many terms of the Plymouth district. Dedicated with no false modesty to the "future biographers of John Quincy Adams," it is the first fruits of the harvest which is to be expected now that the original manuscripts of the Adams family have been made available. The dedication might as well be to the future historians of the national period, who will find this book a valuable guide and directive to sectionalism, anti-slavery, and the origins of the Civil War.

Adams compromised his own stern principles for a statesman when he became the nation's chief executive in 1825. The implicit bargain with Clay was less censurable than were numerous deals effected with others whose support was also considered necessary. Elected over Jackson and Crawford by the House of Representatives, he became the first minority president and the first to have to face a deliberately organized opposition Congress. Few presidents have had so unhappy a four years. Bemis compares it to that of Herbert Hoover. Adams himself compared his experi-

ence of trials and his defeat by the forces acting for Andrew Jackson to the victimizing of Cicero. Here for the first time we have the full story of the period of intense personal suffering, family difficulties coinciding with the political disintegration of his administration, one event following upon another, in a succession of evils which—combined with chronic ill health—drove him beyond Cicero to the sufferings of Job. The Puritan streak was intensified as he contemplated with fortitude the mysteries of Providence, not so much to seek to love God the more but rather to draw conclusions about his own place in history and the possible results for the United States. That he would return to Washington in 1831, as a congressman, perhaps literally with a vengeance, would seem to be a fair inference from the facts about his reactions to the "Sable Genius of the South," which he blamed for all of his and the nation's woes after 1825. The second career was devoted to preparing the minds and hearts of citizens of the North for an irrepressible conflict, to be postponed only until the North could win out, and in the course of winning destroy the wretched slavery system by martial law.

Ironically, the Adams who said in 1825 that liberty had been won, and that the important thing was to protect property, was to achieve fame as the successful defender of the right of petition. There was another, even more astonishing, change. The advocate and principal architect of Manifest Destiny—before there was such a phrase—became the great opponent of expansion, even to the point of praying for British intervention in Texas to secure an abolitionized and independent state there. There is a wealth of detail on all these points in Adams' congressional service, but Mr. Bemis shows more concern for correcting his subject's views on developing events in national history than he does for coming to grips with issues of motivation. Therefore, although full of biographical material, the work succeeds less as biography than it does as a compilation of extremely useful *addenda* to the history of the national period.

Further investigation of the religious thought of John Quincy Adams might be rewarding in itself, not only to those seeking to analyze the background of the anti-slavery movement. His constituency was not just his home district around Quincy. His mission to defend human freedom made him the spokesman for the northern Evangelicals, centering in the upper New York "burned-over" district, for the Finney, Weld, and Tappan brethren. Supported by these zealots he was never one of them; always he was too detached and objective a politician to satisfy them completely. Yet he was more inclined to their orthodox Trinitarian beliefs than to the religion of his father, the elder John Adams, who boasted that he was the first Unitarian in Massachusetts. John Quincy loved William Ellery Channing but was constrained by respect for scriptural authority not to *deny* the divinity of Christ. On the other hand he could not accept the

miracles recorded in the New Testament. As to his attitude toward Catholicism, he was conventionally Protestant in his estimate of its history. Bemis tells us that as president Adams pressed himself into the crowd in the House of Representatives to hear Bishop England giving his notable address of January 8, 1826. But we are not informed as to whether he made the effort in any awareness that the Bishop of Charleston intended to take as his text some anti-Catholic phrases from Adams' own Fourth of July Address of 1821. (Cf. Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* II, 49.) He was "pleased to hear the Bishop disclaim all persecution and admired the ingenuity with which he almost explained away some of the earlier conciliar decrees for the extermination of heretics." Having learned to respect the Church during long service abroad as a diplomat, he was inclined to civility, never to the nativism characteristic of so many anti-slavery enthusiasts. In one of his letters there is a reference to "burning down convents" as among the excesses of a democracy "founded exclusively on persons and not on property."

JOHN T. FARRELL

*The Catholic University of America*

*Caleb Cushing: Attorney General of the United States, 1853-1857.* By Sister M. Michael Catherine Hodgson (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 247. $2.75.)

The primary purpose of this book is to define Caleb Cushing's position as Attorney General of the United States and to determine the influence of Cushing on President Franklin Pierce. To accomplish this objective the author has made extensive use of manuscript material and the three volumes of the opinions of the attorneys general written by Cushing. The end product is a well ordered and scholarly study of one of the more significant occupant's of the nation's highest legal office.

Caleb Cushing reached the cabinet by way of a colorful, and, at times, stormy path. After all, he was no ordinary person. One of a rather impressive list of nineteenth-century Americans springing from historic Essex County in Massachusetts, Cushing, as the author so clearly brings out, combined unusual talents as a legalist, scholar, and politician. And while many of his contemporaries considered him a man without convictions, there is sufficient evidence to the contrary. His staunch support of Tyler against Clay and the Whigs, e.g., can be explained on no other grounds than moral conviction of the constitutional rightness of the embattled president's position. Nor was his stand on slavery as a Demo-

crat, viz., that there was no constitutional power in Congress to forbid it, calculated to win friends in New England. It was a foregone conclusion in 1852 that Franklin Pierce would appoint Cushing to high office, although most reliable sources expected it to be the Department of State. It was fortunate for the nation that he took the attorney generalship. The office (not then a department) needed building up and development. An indefatigible worker, Cushing laid a solid foundation. He pressed for an increase in the inadequate office staff, began what became the Department of Justice Library and proceeded to write an exhaustive history of the development of the office.

But in the last analysis, as this study carefully reveals, Cushing's contributions were much more than mechanical and his influence extended beyond the boundaries of his own office. He helped shape foreign policy through his legal opinions to the Department of State, most dramatically, perhaps, when England attempted to recruit for the Crimean War in the United States. As attorney general, Cushing was a zealous advocate of strong executive power. Sister Michael Catherine brings this out through a close analysis of his written opinions. She might have emphasized, however, the change in Cushing's thinking on this score and the implications of some of his more extreme theories. At the time of Jackson's administration he denied that the opening sentence of Article II of the Constitution was a grant of power. It was a long step from his views at that time to his opinion as attorney general that a United States marshall under the authority of the president, when opposed in the execution of his duty, could summon as a *posse comitatus* all able bodied citizens including the armed forces of the state or nation.

All in all, this work is not only a good contribution in itself, but will also serve to stimulate further research on other facets of Cushing's illustrious career. The excellent bibliographical note at the end as well as the suggestions in the preface will be of invaluable help for this purpose.

PAUL T. HEFFRON

*Boston College*

*The Use of History in the Decisions of the Supreme Court: 1900-1930* By John J. Daly. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 233. $2.50.)

In this carefully researched doctoral dissertation Father Daly sets for himself the task of determining whether the justices of the Supreme Court: (1) used historical data to support their legal arguments; (2) knew

the historical background of the cases before them (the expression "historical background" as conceived by the author does not refer to the facts of the case nor the past decisions of the courts); and (3) accepted as proved what authorities agreed was historically true. The author further attempts to discover the attitude of each justice toward history as a tool of their profession. The work spans the terms of three chief justices, Melville W. Fuller, Edward D. White, and William H. Taft; and as such a convenient chapter-division is provided for the work. Within this chronological setting Father Daly treats his decisions topically under such headings as: "The Insular Cases," "Trust Busting," "War Powers," etc. These sub-topics are well chosen and give to the study a historical meaningfulness which most certainly would have been lacking if a chronological treatment was followed throughout.

Since the Supreme Court has frequently been accused of failing to have a knowledge and appreciation of history, the conclusions of the author on this matter are significant. He found that within the period covered by his study this criticism was ". . . on the whole, unjustified" (p. 209). On the basis of the evidence he presented this conclusion might be classified as a "doctorial understatement." Not only did the author show that history was widely used in the decisions, but his topical analysis permitted an evaluation of the amount of history used in the various types of cases before the court. While Father Daly's conclusions within this thirty-year period are significant in themselves, they also point up the need for a monograph on this subject covering the entire history of the court. It is the hope of this reviewer that the author of this dissertation will undertake such a work.

One criticism might be leveled against the study. The author's concern with the quantity of historical references in the decisions has resulted in an excessive use of quotations. This pitfall could have been avoided and the usefulness of the study enhanced considerably if there had been a somewhat less emphasis on quantity and a greater emphasis on the significance of these historical allusions in terms of the cases considered. Such an approach would almost have to be adopted if the enlarged study suggested above is ever undertaken.

JOHN J. REARDON

*Loyola University*
*Chicago*

*Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Russia Leaves the War.* By George F. Kennan. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 544. $7.50.)

This is a detailed record, from American sources, of the breakdown of diplomatic relations when the Russian Communist minority seized power and took Russia out of the war with Germany. It is set forth in good style and with an emphasis upon the personalities involved. These range from President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing through a host of official and unofficial actors and advisors, including some who were to be the first of our quarreling "experts" on the Soviets. The approach suits the method of Mr. Kennan who believes that great events in history owe much to human character and human failings. Subordinate to this, his general hypothesis, is the author's modest thesis: statesmanlike decisions are reached only after good information is accumulated and then shared adequately by all concerned in making or in carrying out policy. Whatever the aims of a president, or of his Secretary of State, there is a likelihood that only confused and contradictory policies will emerge unless they are served by an able set of diplomats supported by trained personnel.

For the administration in Washington the 1917-1920 confusion in Russian affairs was not relieved by the services of Ambassador David R. Francis, or by the representatives in Russia of the Committee on Public Information, or even by the activities of the very ambiguously constituted Red Cross Mission. Their purposes were all related to the main consideration of keeping Russia in the war, thereby keeping alive the Wilsonian notion of democratic solidarity against the Central Powers, and thereby also retaining a division of German strength in Europe between an eastern and a western front. Therefore, their opinions of the Soviet rulers, who came to power in November, 1917, and made a separate peace with Germany on March 3, 1918, were colored by their varied and subjective appreciations of the extent to which Lenin and Trotzky were either "pro-German" or "anti-German." One line of reasoning, that the Communists had achieved power with the aid of the Germans, that they were in fact spies or agents for the German general staff, got a quasi-official acceptance on the basis of Edgar Sisson's purchases of "documents," which Mr. Kennan finds to have been forgeries. Another line of reasoning was to the effect that with proper recognition and support the Soviet leaders could have been persuaded to resume hostilities with Germany at some point after the armistice of December 2, 1917. The latter was a view strongly maintained by Colonel Raymond Robins of the Red Cross Mission, a curiously fanatical meddler, a prototype of the liberal conscience about Russia, and one whose subsequent activities as a propagandist in the 1920's deserves further attention.

There were other and cooler heads among the handful of Americans observing events, but there was no effective leadership. Ambassador Francis was dependent upon people who despised him, and was, perhaps, unable to bring any necessary qualities of his own to good use; like the rest of the diplomatic community in St. Petersburg he lived in constant fear of imprisonment or assassination. One might infer that a decade of firm refusal on the part of the United States government to recognize Soviet Russia was related in some degree to the utter futility of our representation in that state from 1917 to 1920.

In a work which has so many obvious merits it would be senseless to attempt to pick flaws, even if the critic had an erudition at all comparable to Mr. Kennan's in Soviet-American relations. The only general criticism to be offered has to do with the possibility of a false impression one might derive from such an elaborate and well-told story of diplomatic confusion. There are some situations beyond diplomatic and even beyond human control. In Russia's demoralized condition there was little that even a thoroughly competent diplomatic mission could have done to prevent the manipulators of chaos from doing their worst.

JOHN T. FARRELL

*The Catholic University of America*

*Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920.* By Robert K. Murray. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955. Pp. xii, 337. $4.75.)

The "red scare" was a mass phenomenon and its history is the chronicle of a state of mind, the psychology of the United States during a few tense, fear-ridden months. This, therefore, is no ordinary book. It has no central figures, nor does it tell the story of a movement. It is the narrative of America's first reaction to bolshevism. Wartime intolerance had become a habit which projected itself into unnatural fears and distortions as the people frantically sought for "normalcy" in the midst of the industrial unrest which followed demobilization. As the shadow of bolshevism fell across Europe, Americans began to sense a similar danger in the ravings of domestic radicals who had welcomed the Russian Revolution. The red scare which developed was the result of irresponsible propaganda on the part of a sensation-hungry press, "100% patriotic" organizations, the American Legion, anti-union employers, and government officials.

The "trigger mechanism" of the whole scare, as Mr. Murray rightly concludes, involved the position of organized labor. All strikes became

in the eyes of the public preludes to revolution. There were not only strikes, riots, bombings, and mob vengeance on the one hand, but on the other "Red raids," the deportations delirium, a hunt for "parlor pinks" among educators and the clergy, and widespread attempts to pass legislation restricting civil liberties. "Bolshevism" finally became a completely emotional concept related to individual hatreds and fears, and was used indiscriminately to condemn even the most necessary of reforms. The author sketches a picture of increasing tension throughout 1919 and early 1920, his chapters focusing attention on such events as the Boston police strike and the Centralia massacre. In these major episodes he uncovers the manifestations of blind prejudice and distorted publicity which furnished the "matrix" which held the red scare together. This is done with a clarity of judgment admirable in one who had to work with a mass of biased and emotional data. Mr. Murray faced a formidable task in attempting to relate the events and the psychological overtones of those chaotic months, yet his narrative moves swiftly while it retains its unity. It is his belief that the scare left a legacy of anti-radical emotionalism which did much to distort social relationships in the 1920's. As a result of those "first impressions" of communism, Americans are still too prone to support an unnecessary and unwise pattern of domestic repression.

Some will disagree with his judgments, but the author's moral approach to his subject is, in the opinion of this reviewer, one of the fine points of the study. His discriminating evaluations in the note on the sources will be of great assistance to students working in the field, as will his index with its sub-headings and cross-references. The history of the red scare has been written for the first time by a competent historian.

MARGUERITE GREEN

*Barat College of the Sacred Heart*

## LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604).* By John Leddy Phelan. [Volume 52, University of California Publications in History.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. 159. $3.00.)

"Mendieta reconstructed the history of the New World around three organizing ideas. One was that the inner meaning of New World history

was eschatological. The second idea was that the period between the arrival of the twelve Franciscan 'apostles' in 1524 and the death of Viceroy Luis de Velasco the Elder in 1564 was the Golden Age of the Indian Church. His third idea was that the decades between 1564 and 1596 (when he ceased to write) were the great time of troubles for the new Church" (p. 39). At first glance this summary differs from the three ideas mentioned by Mendieta in his *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (IV, 215), but the whole is well covered in the twelve topical essays forming this book.

However, Dr. Phelan's approach contains some errors which vitiate a number of points in this otherwise excellent work. Gerónimo de Mendieta is repeatedly called a Spiritual Franciscan. From this, the author deduces that he was influenced by the ideas of Joachim of Fiore. Mendieta was an Observant Franciscan, not a Spiritual. All the ideas here attributed to Joachim are found in St. Bonaventure. *In Hexaemeron, Collatio XV* (*Doctoris Seraphicae S. Bonaventurae . . . Opera Omnia*, 10 tt., Quaracchi, 1882-1902, V, esp. 400-401) is startlingly similar to Mendieta's mood, both in general and in detail. One might remember that St. Bonaventure's canonization in 1484 would refresh the memory of his opposition to Joachimite tendencies in the Franciscan Order; the more so because his works were so widely circulated between 1484 and 1587, when his name was entered among the doctors of the Church. This would also solve another difficulty for Professor Phelan. The author often puzzles over Mendieta's "eclecticism" in reference to the views of the Dominican school. Actually, Mendieta is logically following the Bonaventurian view on the relationship of theology and philosophy; hence his failure to agree completely with the consequences of the contrary Dominican viewpoint. Again, Mendieta's interpretations of Scripture seem to this reviewer to depend more on St. Bonaventure than on Nicholas of Lyra.

Preoccupation with the Joachimite viewpoint has led to more definite errors. "The Universal Monarchy of the Spanish Habsburgs" altogether misses Mendieta's meaning. Here the author needed Rafael Gomez Hoyo's *Las Leyes de Indias y el Derecho Eclesiástico en la América Española e Islas Filipinas* (Medellín, 1945), pp. 32-35, 52-58. "Hernán Cortés, Moses of the New World" ignores the words in *Historia* . . . (II, 15 and 25) which limit the application of this simple homiletic figure.

One cannot accept this work as a valid exposition of Mendieta's thought. But there is more to the book. Dr. Phelan skilfully relates Gerónimo de Mendieta's historical writing to the more specialized monographs on his

period in general and sixteenth-century New Spain in particular. On that basis this book is recommended.

MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY

*Siena College*

*The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693.* By Mathias C. Kieman, O.F.M. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 216. $2.50.)

Too frequently the reader, even the student, of Latin American history feels that once he has acquired some acquaintance with the *encomienda,* the *repartimiento,* and similar institutions, he has full knowledge of the field of Indian policy during colonial times. It is always so easy to dismiss the Portuguese with the observation that their colonial institutions and policies were practically identical with those of Spain. At times this may be true; in other instances nothing could be more erroneous or misleading. The latter situation applies in the case of Indian policy. The Portuguese had their own set of problems and solved these in their own particular way. Both "their" Indians and their Brazilian economy were different from those in the Spanish Indies. "Their" Indians were of a wilder and a fiercer breed. None had lived through the preparatory stage of a strong native imperial rule, as had so many of Spain's Indians. Their natural habitat and their culture were more primitive; and they were anything but even mildly friendly. Portuguese economy in Brazil was predominantly agriculture, which fact likewise made for differences.

The prime value of the present study is not so much the story of the occupation of the Amazon area that it recounts, excellently as this is done, but rather for the insight which it gives to an important and little publicized Portuguese institutional policy. The locale of the study, "the Amazon region," is the territory roughly comprising the modern Brazilian states of Maranhão, Pará, Amazonas, Piaui, and Ceará, with the first two receiving the major attention. In the seventeenth century Portuguese interest in this area was stimulated by several factors: potential wealth to be won, Indians to be Christianized, and, often very decisive, the trespassing of foreign powers—the French, the Dutch, and even the English. Often overlooked in connection with the history of this Amazon region are two facts: that the so-called Maranhão was set up as an administrative unit distinct from the rest of the colony and ruled directly from Portugal, and, secondly, that missionary orders other than the Jesuits worked among the Indians there, notably the Franciscans. In this last

connection the present study is valuable in dissipating the belief, rather common as regards Brazil, that the Jesuits were the only missionaries in the whole vast colony.

Father Kieman in his introduction traces, quickly but enlighteningly, the earlier stages of the formulation of Portugal's Indian policy, which is immediately recognized as very distinct from that of Spain. Then he proceeds to the case in point, the development of the policy as it applied to the Amazon region. The system of the *aldeias,* the character and attempted regulation of the *entradas,* the efforts of the Franciscans, the period of Jesuit enterprise, and, finally, the growth of the full-dress Indian policy are the topics of the study. Famous, as well as less known, personalities appear along the way. The author handles his Franciscan brethren with calm objectivity and the rival Jesuits with equal fairness —not always an easy task, since seventeenth-century friars and padres were often at loggerheads. The highly controversial figure of P. Antonio Vieira has been accorded a kindly examination.

This reviewer has only one complaint—a map would have been of great service to the reader. But he would like to match that with a word of high commendation for the table in the appendices giving, most helpfully, "equivalents of money, weights, and measures."

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

*Saint Louis University*

# NOTES AND COMMENTS

It is with sincere regret that the editors announce the retirement of Aloysius K. Ziegler as an associate editor of the REVIEW. Since 1937 Father Ziegler has served with high competence and singular devotion in editing the Notes and Comments and Periodical Literature sections of our journal besides collaborating in the general work of editing. For the past sixteen years he has likewise been head of the Department of History in the Catholic University of America. He finds it necessary to relinquish his editorship in order to secure time for his other duties.

With this new Volume XLIII the REVIEW welcomes to its board of editors Alfred C. Rush, C.SS.R., associate professor of church history in the Catholic University of America. Father Rush's field of specialization is the ancient and mediaeval Church, a field in which he took his S.T.D. degree sixteen years ago with a dissertation entitled *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, 1941). Since that time Father Rush has been a member of the faculty of the School of Sacred Theology and in 1951 was promoted to the rank of associate professor. He has been a frequent reviewer in our pages while at the same time serving on the staff of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* and contributing to that and other journals. Father Rush will assume charge of the Notes and Comments and Periodical Literature sections which have been relinquished by Father Ziegler.

At a meeting of the executive council of the Association in St. Louis on December 28 it was voted to institute a system of rotation among the advisory editors of the REVIEW with two to retire each year who would be replaced by two new editors to serve a term of three years. In taking temporary leave, therefore, of Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame and Manoel Cardozo of the Catholic University of America, the two advisory editors who have been with us the longest period of time, we wish to express our sincere gratitude for the many and valuable contributions which they have made over the years to the journal.

In place of Father McAvoy and Professor Cardozo we wish likewise to welcome with this first number of the new Volume XLIII their successors in the persons of Henry G. J. Beck, professor of church history in Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, and Basil Leo Lee, F.S.C., assistant

professor of history in Manhattan College. After his graduation from Seton Hall University in 1934 and the completion of his theological studies at the North American College, Rome, in 1938, Father Beck began his graduate work in church history at the Gregorian University where he earned his licentiate in 1940. After an interval of teaching at Darlington he returned to Rome in 1948 and was awarded the Gregorian's doctorate in ecclesiastical history with a dissertation which was published under the title *Pastoral Care of Souls in Southeast France during the Sixth Century* (Rome, 1950). Father Beck is no stranger to the REVIEW to which he has contributed many learned book reviews while doing the same for *Speculum, Theological Studies,* and other journals. He has also been the representative of our Association—along with Edward A. Ryan, S.J., of Woodstock College—on the project for a bibliography of the Reformation that is being compiled under the auspices of the International Commission for Ecclesiastical History. Father Beck's special competence in the history of the Reformation has likewise brought him invitations to lecture on that subject before the Newman Clubs of Cornell and Rutgers Universities and Russell Sage and Brooklyn Colleges.

Brother Basil Leo did his undergraduate work at Manhattan College and took the Ph.D. degree at the Catholic University of America with a dissertation on *Discontent in New York City, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1943). He formerly taught history at De La Salle College in Washington and at Saint Mary's College, Winona, and has also served as archivist of the New York Province of the Christian Brothers since 1948.

At the meeting of the executive council of the American Benedictine Academy on January 17 it was decided to combine the office of executive secretary with that of the editorship of the *American Benedictine Review,* the academy's official organ. The person chosen was Bonaventure Schwinn, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's College who has been freed from all other demands upon his time and allotted a salary and reimbursement for all expenses incurred when traveling on business for the academy. One of Father Bonaventure's principal duties will be to visit the various abbeys and convents of the Benedictine Order in the United States with a view to hunting out talent for the programs of the eight sections into which the work of the academy is organized and to stimulate and encourage actual and prospective scholars to write for the academy's journal. The new president of the academy is Martin Schirber, O.S.B., of St. John's University. The social sciences section of the academy, which embraces history, has as its new chairman Valentine Skluzacek, O.S.B., of St. Procopius College, and as secretary Sister Claire Lynch, O.S.B., of St. Paul's Priory, while Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., of St. John's University

will represent history among the newly appointed associate editors of the *American Benedictine Review*. At the present time the academy has a total of 475 members of whom 230 are priests, 195 are sisters, and fifty are lay people.

The annual meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies was held at Hunter College, New York, on February 1-2. The membership in this new group now stands at 220 and there were over 100 who registered at the New York meeting. Carlton J. H. Hayes acted as chairman of the afternoon session on February 1 when two papers were read on the French bourgeoisie and social classification of business men in eighteenth-century France. The paper of Lynn M. Case of the University of Pennsylvania, "In Case of Death, Inform the Cardinals . . ." treated a single incident in Franco-Vatican relationships in 1861 to illustrate the attitude of the Second Empire to Pius IX. John S. Bush, S.J., of Fordham University was the leader of the discussion on this topic. Other items of interest to readers of the REVIEW were the paper of John B. Woodall of the Salzburg Seminar on "The Ralliement," and the luncheon address on February 2 of Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, C.J.M., of the Institut Catholique de Paris on "The Bourbon Restoration. Some Unorthodox Views." Persons interested in the society should address their inquiries to the secretary, David Pinckney, at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The American Studies Association of the area of metropolitan New York held a meeting at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University on February 9 on the general topic, "The Irish Contribution to American Life." Four papers were read at the morning session: "Irish Immigration to the United States," by Alfred McLung Lee of Brooklyn College; "The Irish in American Literature" by Miriam Heffernan of Brooklyn College; "Jim Larkin and the American Labor Movement" by Emmett Larkin of Columbia University; and "Anti-Irish Feeling in the United States," by John Higham of Rutgers University. Following luncheon a period of discussion of the morning papers was led by David H. Greene of New York University.

The REVIEW wishes to express its best wishes for the success of *Manuscripta* of Saint Louis University which made its initial appearance in February. The new journal replaces the *Historical Bulletin* and will appear three times a year in February, July, and October. The first issue contains two articles and a checklist of the Vatican manuscript codices

available for consultation at the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library as well as a section devoted to book reviews. The editor of *Manuscripta* is Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., the subscription rate $4.00 per year, and $1.50 per single issue, and the address is Saint Louis University Library, Saint Louis 3, Missouri.

A new journal to be known as *Victorian Studies* is announced for the fall of 1957 by a board of editors consisting of Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff of Indiana University. The prospectus states that it will be devoted to "the examination of English culture during the period extending approximately from 1830 to 1914," although the proposed chronological limits are intended only as indications of a center, since it is realized that "study of the years before and after may well illuminate the years between." *Victorian Studies* will appear quarterly and will be designed to work toward a deliberate co-ordination of the various academic disciplines in the humanities, arts, and sciences. In addition to articles, it will carry book reviews, a forum for the discussion of controversial issues, a notes and queries section, and an annual Victorian bibliography which will be sponsored by the Victorian group of the Modern Language Association. The annual subscription will be $5.00 and 35s in England. All communications and inquiries should be addressed to: The Editors, *Victorian Studies*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Volume XXIV of the *Miscelanea Comillas* (Santander, 1955. Pp. 480) is edited by P. Constancio Gutiérrez, S.J., professor of church history in the Universidad Pontificia Comilllas. It is devoted to the history of the embassy sent by Spain to Rome in 1659 in the interests of promoting the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The texts of all pertinent documents are given in full. Volume XXVI in the same series (1956. Pp. 300) contains a series of valuable studies on the *Ejercicios de San Ignacio* prepared for a conference held at Salamanca on December 28, 1955-January 2, 1956.

*Our Negro and Indian Missions*, the annual report of the secretary of the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians, once more records gains in almost all categories during 1956. There are now 530,702 Negro Catholics in the United States, a gain of 47,031 over the total reported at the end of 1955, and 117,281 Catholic Indians which is 4,872 above the number reported a year ago. The figure

for the Negroes does not include an increasing number of parishes which are attended by both Negroes and whites, and the same is true for the 83,076 Negro children listed as in Catholic schools at the end of 1956. In other words, if the integrated parishes and parochial schools were reported with the same completeness the total would be considerably higher. The Diocese of Lafayette in Louisiana again leads with 75,000 Negro Catholics with 71,000 and 48,258 for the Archdioceses of New Orleans and Washington, respectively. In Indian Catholics the Diocese of Gallup leads with 15,971 with the Diocese of Rapid City second with 12,000 and the Diocese of Tucson third with 11,000 Indians of the Catholic faith. The largest benefactor to the collection for the Negro and Indian missions during 1956 was the Diocese of Pittsburgh which contributed $74,654.59 and received nothing back from the commission since it has no Indian missions and its missions for the Negroes are apparently able to maintain themselves without the need for help outside the diocese.

During the spring of 1957 Loyola University, Chicago, is presenting a series of Honors Program Lectures on the general theme, "Meanings of History." The series opened on February 27 with Paul S. Lietz, chairman of the Department of History, speaking on "Dawson and the Meaning of Progress." Other subjects and lecturers were: "Marx and Determinism" by Paul A. Hummert on March 13; "Toynbee and the Unity of Historical Experience" by Edward T. Gargan on March 27; and "The Role of Ideas in the Work of Recent American Historians" by John J. Reardon on April 10. The series will close on May 8 when William R. Trimble, assistant professor of history, will speak on "Modern English Historians and Nationalism."

The Committee on International Relations of the University of Notre Dame sponsored a symposium on "What America Stands For" on March 29-30 which embraced eight papers on leading phases of American life and culture.

The eleventh institute in the preservation and administration of archives offered by the American University in co-operation with the National Archives and Records Service, the Library of Congress, and the Maryland Hall of Records, will be held from June 17 to July 12 under the direction of Theodore R. Schellenberg, assistant archivist of the United States. The text used will be Dr. Schellenberg's recent book, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago, 1956). Interested parties

should address their inquiries to the Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives, The American University, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives 554 containers of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Office relating to the Weimar period. The bulk of the collection consists of microfilm of documents in the files of the offices of the German foreign minister and the state secretary. The data sheets describing these materials have been microfilmed by the National Archives. Inquiries concerning the purchase of copies should be addressed to the National Archives and Records Service, Washington 25, D. C. Microfilming of files of the Weimar period is still continuing. The entire collection of microfilm, upon completion of the program, will be turned over to the National Archives.

The attempts to insert a question on religious affiliation in the 1960 census are commendable efforts to get reliable statistics on religious bodies. A very important element in any evaluation of the religious history of the United States is the belief of many Protestant denominations that formal membership is not required. The public citizen of the mid-nineteenth century did not regard himself as less religious because he belonged to an external religious organization. Catholics, of course, insisted on baptism which implied a registration by the minister. The preparation of a registry of practicing Catholics in a community was, however, a rare event so that Catholic statistics are scarcely more accurate than those of other religious bodies.

The Coe Foundation of New York has made a grant of $9,000 to Trinity College to conduct a refresher course in American history and government during the summer of 1957. Thirty-six sisters who teach in Catholic high schools will follow the course. The agenda includes lectures by John T. Farrell and John Tracy Ellis of the Catholic University of America.

Students in the Department of Architecture at the University of Notre Dame have undertaken, under the direction of Ernest L. Brandl, a study of the architecture of old American Catholic churches. The project has

for its purpose to determine whether or not there can be discovered any American Catholic contributions to church architecture.

Four members of the Department of Social Studies of Seton Hall University participated in a mock session of the UN General Assembly held at Princeton University on April 5-7.

Menceslaus J. Madaj, a member of our Association for some years, was elected president of the Polish American Historical Association at its meeting in Chicago in December. Father Madaj, a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago, took his master's degree at De Paul University and his doctorate at Loyola University, Chicago, where he majored in modern European history and wrote his dissertation on the subject, "The Catholic Missions in the Crimea, 1475-1624." He likewise spent three years in research work in Rome, Paris, Oxford, and London and during that time obtained a certificate from the Vatican School of Archives.

Georgiana P. McEntee, author of *The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain* (New York, 1927), has been promoted to the rank of professor of history in Hunter College, New York.

Russell B. Nye of Michigan State University addressed the American Civilization Seminar and the Department of History of the University of Notre Dame on February 5 on "The Individual in the Age of Emerson and Jackson."

Joseph J. Gallagher has been appointed archivist of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Father Gallagher did his undergraduate work at St. Charles College, Catonsville, and the Catholic University of America and received his training for the priesthood at St. Mary's Seminary, Roland Park. Inquiries concerning the archives should be addressed to the Reverend Joseph J. Gallagher, 408 N. Charles Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland.

Marshall Smelser of the University of Notre Dame, holder of the Forrestal Fellowship, addressed the seminar of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg on February 22 where his topic

was "The Close Battle in Congress over the Passage of the First Naval Law."

Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., chairman of the Department of History in the University of San Francisco since 1934, died on January 15 at the age of sixty-seven. After receiving his bachelor's degree at Gonzaga University in 1913 he spent a number of years in teaching and graduate work before taking the Ph.D. at the University of California in 1934. At Berkeley he majored in Latin American history under the late Herbert Eugene Bolton, and few of Professor Bolton's students proved to be more productive in their post-doctoral careers than Father Dunne. From the time that his volume, *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast* (Berkeley, 1940), appeared, he continued to put out in rapid succession scholarly monographs in the field of his specialization, the Jesuit history of colonial California, the best of which in his own judgment was *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley, 1952). He found time as well for writing articles and popular books, the best known in this latter category probably being *A Padre Views South America* (Milwaukee, 1945). Father Dunne celebrated his golden jubilee as a Jesuit in July, 1956, was Second Vice President of our Association in 1946, and during 1956 served as president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. It was at Eugene, Oregon, on December 28, less than three weeks before his death, that he made his final public appearance to deliver his presidential address before the historians of the Pacific Coast at their annual meeting at the University of Oregon where his theme was "The Renaissance and the Reformation. A Study in Objectivity: Legends Black and White."

Philip J. Mitchell, C.S.C., assistant professor of history in the University of Notre Dame, died on March 1 at the age of forty-one. Father Mitchell had formerly taught at the University of Portland before joining the faculty at Notre Dame.

# BRIEF NOTICES

ARENTH, SISTER MARY AURELIA, O.S.F. *As a Living Oak: Biography of Mother Baptista Etzel, O.S.F.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 133. $3.00.)

This biography of the third mother superior of the Sisters of St. Francis of Pittsburgh depicts her life from her arrival in the United States as a German immigrant to her death while mother superior. As nineteen-year-old Sidonia Etzel she entered the Sisters of St. Francis in Pittsburgh in 1873. Having served the community as a simple sister, mistress of novices for many years, and mother superior, Mother Baptista left a definite impression of her character and personality on her religious congregation. The span of years between 1892 and 1924 saw her elected to the office of superior for seven terms of three years each. In that office she laid the foundation of the motherhouse at Mount Alvernia, Millvale, opened many schools and convents, a convalescent home, and several hospitals. In the latter field, the work of St. Francis Hospital, founded in 1865, was so expanded under Mother Baptista's supervision that with its potential capacity for 963 beds it is considered today one of the best equipped hospitals.

Despite many physical, material, and spiritual difficulties Mother Baptista, in the words of her biographer, "stood firm. Her calm, majestic bearing, her patience and humility finally triumphed." She had an "exceptional power of organization, foresight, energy and appreciation of modern needs" in the fields of education and nursing. This book also reveals many insights into the superior's spiritual life and ideals which placed God's cause first, especially in the training of the young sisters of her community.

The contents of this volume are interesting, although the style of writing is at times stilted. The narration of some incidents seems to be too detailed and could have been reduced or even possibly omitted. The information about the family of Mother Baptista and the chronology associated with her early life are vague and scanty. The book has an adequate index but there is neither a table of contents nor a bibliography. It is, however, an addition to that body of biographical material which concerns the lives of those who by their untiring labor and apostolic zeal have helped to strengthen the Church in specific dioceses. (SISTER MARIE LÉONORE FELL)

ASHLEY MONTAGU, M.F. (Ed.). *Toynbee and History. Critical Essays and Reviews.* [An Extending Horizons Book.] (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher. 1956. Pp. xiv, 385. $5.00.)

This volume contains a comprehensive and representative collection of criticisms on Toynbee's *A Study of History* by historians, "literary critics and humanists," which have appeared in widely scattered publications of various kinds. There are thirty-three contributions, including three by Toynbee himself.

In the reviewer's opinion, the more significant contributions are those by Sir Ernest Barker, the anonymous reviewer of Toynbee in the *Times Literary Supplement*, Geoffrey Barraclough, Christopher Dawson, Lewis Mumford, Pitirim Sorokin, Kenneth Thompson, W. den Boer, O. H. K. Spate, Gotthold Weil, Linus Walker, O.P., Hans Koen, and Pieter Geyl. The essays or reviews are very uneven and often deal with certain aspects of *A Study of History* and not with the work as a whole. The professional historians, with few exceptions, tend to be adverse in their evaluations of Toynbee. The most vehement critic is Pieter Geyl of the University of Utrecht. On the other hand, Christopher Dawson's verdict is much more sympathetic and temperate. The "literary critics and humanists" are more friendly and even enthusiastic, revealing the influence of Toynbee's panoramic vistas, mysticism, and poetic flights upon them. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

BUCHANAN, A. RUSSELL. *David S. Terry of California. Dueling Judge.* (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1956. Pp. ix, 238. $5.00.)

Renewed interest in developing the story of California's "Golden Age" following the discovery of gold has resulted in several recent volumes concerning this period. In describing the career of Judge Terry, the author has chosen one of the more colorful participants.

Following service in the Mexican War, Terry soon migrated to Stockton, California, where he practiced law successfully and, in 1856, was elected Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court. Governor Johnson, the incumbent governor, demanded that San Francisco's Second Vigilance Committee disband; but it refused and during the ensuing controversy Judge Terry was arrested, tried for his life, but was finally acquitted by the committee. Older accounts, such as Bancroft's, are very partial to the committee, but Mr. Buchanan, by use of contemporary material, has presented both sides of the controversy more fairly. The same service has been rendered in recounting the story of California's most famous duel in which Senator Broderick, then junior senator from California, died as a result of a duel with Judge Terry. These episodes are two of the most dramatic of the period. The biography further affords an interesting light on the political life and controversies of the time, one result of which was this famous duel.

During the Civil War Terry became a colonel in the Confederate Army and thereafter a rancher in Mexico and a mining lawyer in Nevada. Then returning to California, he re-established a successful law practice where the highlight of his career was his participation in the second California constitutional convention. His death at the hand of Justice Stephen Field's personal bodyguard was as controversial as his life. The author's notes indicate that he has exhausted available original sources and has made a substantial contribution to the history of the period. (CLARENCE J. COLEMAN)

CAIN, ELLA M. *The Story of Bodie.* (San Francisco: Fearon Publishers. 1956. Pp. ix, 196.)

Although it might be thought that few aspects of the California gold rush had escaped the notice of the chronicler, the biographer, or the historian, the volume under review is the first book-length account of the history of Bodie, reputedly "the most lawless, the wildest and toughest mining camp the Far West has ever known." To sustain Bodie's claim to that reputation, Mrs. Cain has compiled a collection of reminiscences of the settlers of what is now a ghost town recently turned into a state park. In this brief book sharp-eyed gamblers, rowdy dance-hall girls, blood-thirsty desperadoes, and opium-smoking Chinese come to life. Yet the impression persists that Bodie was not much different from other remote mining towns of the era, and that the much publicized criminal element formed only a minority among the respectable, law-abiding citizens.

Despite this impression, the reader must concede that the author has unearthed much interesting data on Bodie's past: the first gold strike by William Bodey and his tragic death, the development of the mines, the growth of the town, the rise of the lawless element, the establishment of the vigilance committee. She also gives a straightforward, unglamorized account of how the town developed its water supply, roads, schools, churches, and lodges. Of particular interest are the descriptions of Bodie's social life and of the devastating fires and crippling mine failures which eventually brought ruin to this little mining community in the high Sierras. Bodie did not esteem the wayward; only respectable persons could be buried in the town's cemetery, an adjacent field being reserved for the Chinese and for those who had lived outside the pale of decency. Although the book contains the biographical sketches of the settlement's demireps and Wells-Fargo bandits common to much gold rush literature, there is an approach to veritable American folklore in the anecdotes that recount the adventures of Hank Blanchard, the tragic life of Maggie, the Indian girl, and the diverting rivalry between the butchers' wives.

A native and life-long resident of Bodie, Mrs. Cain retells the tales she has heard from childhood with charm, vigor, and an intimate knowledge of a small community that played no insignificant role in the growth of the West. While it makes no pretense to be a definitive history, the volume compensates for what it lacks in scholarly organization by its simplicity, candor, and wealth of illustrations, and it is a welcome contribution to an ever-increasing Californiana. (W. MATTHEW MCDEVITT)

CARY, GEORGE. *The Medieval Alexander.* Edited by D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 415. $9.50.)

This is a book of outstanding importance. Part A contains a survey of all the sources for the knowledge of Alexander the Great available to the Middle Ages

and of the chief mediaeval derivatives, beginning with Pseudo-Callisthenes and including the Latin historians of Alexander, accounts in mediaeval chronicles, etc. Part B (pp. 75-274), which deals with the mediaeval conception of Alexander, is at once the most original and valuable section of the work. The author examines the views on Alexander found in the moralists to the fourteenth century and beyond, in the theologians and mystics, in collections of *exempla* and sermons, in secular writers to the fourteenth century and later, and, more specifically, the conceptions of Alexander held in late mediaeval England, France, and Germany, and in late mediaeval and Renaissance Italy. All possible sources of information have been examined and evaluated. The mediaeval conception of Alexander varied widely according to literary genres, regions, places, and individual writers. In the course of time, the interpretation of Alexander exhibits marked divergence even in the same genre. The book contains copious notes (pp. 274-351), three appendices, an invaluable bibliography (pp. 378-393), an excellent index (pp. 395-415), nine beautifully executed plates, and five figures in the text. It is to be deeply regretted that such a promising scholar as George Cary died at the age of twenty-five. Dr. David Ross has performed his task as editor with admirable care. He himself has added or rewritten several short sections in Part A. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

CIRLOT, JUAN EDUARDO. *Romanesque Art.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 93. $10.00.)

Despite the implications of its title, Juan Eduardo Cirlot's *Romanesque Art* is not a general treatise on Romanesque style and art. It is, rather, a collection of fifty-five plates—twelve in color—from the Art Museum of Catalonia, representing some remarkable Catalan paintings and sculpture from the period between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries. The reader is introduced to the plates by a twelve-page text. The text is, in effect, a short essay on the spirit of Romanesque art in general and of Catalan Romanesque in particular. The value of the text is questionable and some of the author's notions about English grammar are, to say the least, a trifle odd.

The plates in *Romanesque Art* are the important part of the book. The photography and printing, both in color and in black and white, have been done superbly. Almost every one of the reproductions comes through beautifully, with shades and tints, lines and shadows clearly and delicately defined. The pieces presented here have rarely, if ever, been reproduced before and many of them are superb. E.g., the mural from the apse of the Hermitage Church of San Clemente de Trahull (p. 41) is a most striking and beautiful piece of work. There are photographs of several carvings of the crucifixion which are extremely vivid, perhaps the most remarkable of them being the fourteenth-century

"Descent from the Cross" from Santa Maria de Trahull (p. 85). (JAMES A. BRUNDAGE)

COLGRAVE, BERTRAM. *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac.* Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 205. $5.50.)

Felix, a monk of, presumably, some East Anglian monastery, wrote the *Life of Saint Guthlac* in the fourth decade of the eighth century at the request, not of King Aethelbald of Mercia, as is commonly stated, but of King Aelfwald of East Anglia. Felix was a scholar, familiar with Bede, Aldhelm, the *Vita Fursei,* Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini,* Jerome's *Vita Pauli,* Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* (in Evagrius's translation), Gregory's Second Book of *Dialogues,* and, as might be expected, with Scripture and Virgil. As might also be expected, his style is ornate, bombastic, and obscure; the editor lists almost fifty words for which Du Cange quotes only Felix as authority. Fond of alliteration, unusual words, and fantastic neologisms, he displays, nevertheless, particularly in the later chapters, a tendency to imitate Bede's straightforward style. Mr. Colgrave mentions five previous editors of the *Life,* but the latest, that of P. Gonser in 1909, was merely a reprint of the Bollandist edition of 1675. The most recent independent edition is, then, that of W. de Gray Birch (1881). But this printing was limited to 100 copies, and the editor restricted himself to British Museum manuscripts, thus neglecting, among others, the important twelfth-century Douay manuscript 852, which seems to have originated in Crowland, the scene of Guthlac's activity. Begun in 1939, Mr. Colgrave's work was prolonged by the war and other pressing distractions; all who are interested in the early history of East Anglia and the Fens will welcome its appearance, even belated, as a needed correction of pseudo-Ingulf. In his introduction he indicates the importance of the Fenland in early British history and demonstrates the falseness of the claim that Crowland was founded by Aethelbald of Mercia. He discusses the authorship, date, sources, and style of the work, and evaluates other Guthlac material, some of which seems to be independent of Felix. He minutely describes the twelve extant manuscripts and one fragment of Felix, and, on the basis of variants, sets forth their relationship. None of them is remarkable for its age or for the obvious accuracy of its tradition, and so the editor tried, when deciding upon a reading, to choose the variant which seems most in keeping with Felix's general style and with the orthography of the early eighth century. His convincing defense of his solutions reveals his own scholarship. The *Life,* with Latin and English on facing pages, is provided with a full and carefully executed critical apparatus. The translation is a gem, whose facile English style catches the spirit of the original without its overelaboration. The notes, containing identifications and explanations of neologisms, are valuable, especially for their indication of the numerous borrowings from the

standard *vitae;* Felix seeks to make Guthlac as much like Cuthbert as he possibly can, but Felix was no Bede. An excellent index completes this model edition. (ANSELM BIGGS)

DEANSLEY, MARGARET. *A History of Early Medieval Europe: 476-911.* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc. 1956. Pp. xi, 620. $6.00.)

The twenty-nine chapters of this volume trace the history of Europe from the end of the classic Roman Empire in the West to the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire. Two of these chapters are devoted to the necessary Roman and barbarian backgrounds before 476. The others are almost chronological, with separate chapters on the barbarian kingdoms in Italy, Gaul, Africa, and Spain; on economic change; and on the Byzantine Empire, the Church, Islam, and the Graeco-Roman and Christian heritage. The emphasis is on the Latin West, though four chapters are given to Byzantine history, and one each to the Muslims, to the Celts and Scandinavians, and to the Slavs. Though eleven of the remaining chapters are concerned with the Carolingians this is, perhaps, not a disproportionate allowance. The history of Britain is omitted entirely because of the editorial policy of the series.

The volume gives very adequate coverage to all aspects of early mediaeval history. Especially fine are the sections on social, economic, and cultural history where the author makes vivid the life of the day. She draws quotations from contemporary chroniclers and interpretations from modern monographic studies and she summarizes the conclusions of archaeologists and art historians. No aspect of the history of the age is omitted. The work is nicely integrated and holds together well. Her use of biographical materials in drawing a picture of society in these centuries is admirable. She explains both secular and ecclesiastical institutions with exemplary thoroughness.

The effect of this entertaining book is marred by genealogical, geographical, and chronological errors, and by too frequent proofreading slips. Theodosius is described as the son of Valens on one page, and on another Honorius and Arcadius, the sons of Theodosius, are assigned to Constantine. We are informed that the dynasty of Constantine ended with Valens. She refers to the "Aral Hills" where she presumably means the Ural Mountains. Noricum is described as a Balkan province across the head of the Adriatic. Salzburg is located in Carinthia, and Lerins at the mouth of the Rhone. She consistently refers to the northern and southern ends of the Pyrenees where she obviously means western and eastern. Saragossa is placed on the Mediterranean coast near the Pyrenees, and the Lombard Duchy of Spoleto is described as straddling the Alps. Two chronological errors are the references to the requirement of a two-thirds' majority for the election of a pope "in 1059," and to the establishment of a second caliphate in Spain "after 755." The former date should read 1179, and the latter 929. Mildly amusing are the references to fording a river by a bridge of boats, and to stylized horses' heads that became more and more sub-human. At times the punctuation of envolved sentences is insufficient to keep the reader from stumbling. (CYRIL E. SMITH)

DEMPSEY, JAMES. *Mission on the Nile.* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1956. Pp. vii, 247. $6.00.)

Father Dempsey, a Mill Hill missioner, has written a lively and somewhat amusing account of his work for Christ among the Shilluk tribe in the province of the Upper Nile in the Sudan. The author's humor, however, does not conceal the grim fact that life among the Shilluks is a hard and thankless one. Civilization has hardly touched the Upper Nile of the Shilluks; the climate is hot and humid; communications with the outside world are sketchy and unreliable. The people themselves are proud, ignorant, uncomely, and ungrateful. The missionary priest working in this area has endless trials and disappointments, and he may well wonder whether, as the author puts it, ". . . lack of results makes further efforts among such a graceless and ungrateful people . . . really worth while, or whether it would not be better to transfer himself and his undoubted talents to a more salubrious clime and a more appreciative flock." Father Dempsey finds the answer to these doubts in the sick call. There is nothing like a sick call to make the missioner realize "the value of his presence in this particular place at this particular time, and his worth, not as a teacher, or as an eloquent preacher, or a clever theologian, or even as a zealous missionary whose ardour is being continually damped by the lack of response to his best efforts, but simply as a man in whom God has rested great powers in order that He may use him as the instrument for the salvation of some obscure native dying in a dismal hut in a small unknown village on the bank of the Nile."

This volume reveals many interesting insights into the strange character of the Shilluk people. Inordinately proud, they are steadfast in the belief that their way of life is the best. Nearly every effort of the missionary to improve their lot is resisted. E.g., one of the fathers attempted to convert some schoolboys to a better system of farming by planting one half an area according to the Shilluk fashion (the native uses a sharp stick to remove a divot from the rain-softened earth, drops in a few seeds, pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on, then he leaves the rest to nature), the other half in accordance with scientific methods. The boys were unimpressed by the comparison between bumper crops that grew in the area planted with improved methods and the meager growth of the other half of the field. "What was good enough for his father was good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients?" The native could say this despite the fact that blind adherence to traditional ways meant starvation for several months of the year.

The author has made a contribution to African lore. Students of missiology and sociology may find this volume of value. The book is illustrated with photographs and contains pertinent sketch-maps. By way of an afterthought, Father Dempsey has devoted the last few chapters to his travels in the Sudan. (JOHN J. DALY)

FRANKLIN, JOHN HOPE. *The Militant South, 1800-1861.* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 317. $5.00.)

Dr. Franklin has compressed into 249 well-documented pages of text a readable and thought-provoking treatise on a subject highly controversial—the basic

cause of the American Civil War. It is an issue conditioned precisely according to one's viewpoint. If he be a southerner, he will all too often single out an issue basically economic and tied in with states' rights (which now, as very probably in ante-bellum days, meant nothing less than white supremacy). Exception to this opinion would, seventy years ago, have courted personal combat with deadly weapons or at least a caning. Even today, the southerner often has a chip on his shoulder should anyone take exception to his traditional beliefs.

It would seem that the author has suggested a comparatively new vista into the remote and proximate causes of the War Between the States. Certainly, southern bellicosity had been reared in a frontier atmosphere that prevailed in the South after its counterpart had long since vanished in the North. The primeval South, almost wholly rural and agrarian, seldom knew the established regime of law and order of the better developed North. Rugged southern individualists, whether of the planter aristocracy or of the poorer whites, were prone to take the law into their own hands with lethal weapons or with bare hands. The pseudo-chivalric code of honor, rooted in an emotional human respect and apropos to the gentry only, was condoned with impunity, however extravagant the notion of personal sovereignty. Southerners were trained in weapons from childhood; a knowledge geared in fear and essential to withstand potential risings of Indians or slaves. To this end of community protection, a citizen soldiery developed nearly everywhere; its officer corps often the product of state military institutes. Used to violence, fully prepared for war and confident of their military prowess, the southerners expected to wrest from the North by force of arms—their rights and their nationality—that for which they could not bargain in congressional halls. No red-blooded southerner ever dreamt that the North might win the coming war.

This is the gist of Dr. Franklin's thesis that the ante-bellum South was distinctly bellicose and was ready and willing to fight anybody, particularly "damyankees," at the drop of the hat. The compact text is devoid of footnotes, which are put in by chapters in the rear of the book in finer print; a system that reduces the size of the book, but one that is a little annoying to check each footnote in an appendix. There is a good biographical essay on the sources, as well as an index at the end of the volume. Inaccuracies are few—misspellings like "stearness" (p. 4), "Gulford" for Guilford (p. 89), "fotrh" for forth (p. 220), "botton" for bottom (p. 66), and an inconsistent spelling of Philip Lindsley (pp. 59, 153, 186); a missing quotation mark (p. 87) and a comma (p. 53); *in Institute* for *the Institute* (p. 150), all of which are probably the results of hasty proofreading. (ARTHUR A. COLKIN)

FRIEDE, JUAN (Ed.). *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Colombia coleccionados en el Archivo General de Indias de Seville, 1509-1550.* Volume II, *1528-1532.* (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia. 1955. Pp. 417.)

Had Charles I of Spain and those who assisted him in overseas administration been historians, they would have had ample grounds to despair over the

difficulty of arriving at historical truth. No fact emerges more clearly from reading the second volume in the series of *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Colombia*. Consider, for example, the Governor of Santa Marta, García de Lerma, who reported that the Dominican priest and official protector of the Indians, Tomás Ortiz, was a man of bad character, low morals, and possibly a heretic, as well as a shameless exploiter of the Indians. On the other hand, Father Ortiz reported that Governor Lerma was an incompetent and dishonest administrator, as well as a sadistic torturer of the noble and nearly sinless Indians. Which of these two views was the crown to accept? If this presented a problem, consider the royal plight when the governor and priest became closely allied friends, when the *cabildo* of Santa Marta began to rail against them both while they, in turn, heaped scorn and defamation upon the *cabildo*, at the same time that the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo looked with suspicion upon all three. Such are the difficulties which the documents contained in this volume presented to the Spanish rulers, and continue to present to the modern historian.

The four-year period beginning in 1528 described by these documents was highly critical in the early development of Spain's colonizing attempts in northern South America. Had it not been for the promising results of the 1532 expedition up the Magdalena River, the Santa Marta colony might have been abandoned. It can now be hoped that the documents relating the subsequent intensified Spanish activity in the area, resulting in the conquest of the land of El Dorado, will be as enlightening as those which carry the story to 1532, and that the volume containing them will not be long in appearing. It can also be hoped that Juan Friede will continue his excellent work in selecting, editing, and indexing the documents. (FREDERICK B. PIKE)

HUNT, ERNEST WILLIAM. *Dean Colet and His Theology*. (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. 1956. Pp. viii, 142. 30s.)

This small book is in no sense a biography of John Colet. As the author says in his preface, "I felt that I wanted to know this great Dean of St. Paul's more intimately; so I resolved to read and study his writings in the original Latin, and then to try and paint a word-picture of his mind and character." The author has done this by selecting five aspects of the career of Colet and devoting to each of them a chapter. These aspects are: the Christian Humanist; the Reformer; the Preacher; the Exegete; and the Mystic. There is no doubt whatever of John Colet's importance for an understanding of Catholic thought in England just before the Reformation begun by King Henry VIII. Colet was born in 1466 and died in 1519. Therefore, his writing was unaffected by the great European catastrophe in religion, which was shortly to take place. There is a fair amount of writing from which Colet can be judged, most of it theological in content. Mr. Hunt has studied these writings and gives extensive quotations from them. There is a bibliography and an index.

The author, who is an Episcopalian divine, is chiefly concerned with discovering in what way John Colet merits the title of reformer. It is evident that he

would like to see in Colet a forerunner of those Anglican divines whose work is chiefly quoted in the bilbiography. There is no reference in it to the very important work done by Father Philip Hughes on the English Reformation. Mr. Hunt refers in a misleading way to the subject of indulgences. It may be that he is ignorant of the doctrine concerning them. He seeks to show that Colet "undermines the very basis of the mediaeval doctrine of indulgences" (p. 61). But the quotation which he makes from Colet's work does not seem to bear out this charge. Indeed, throughout this study it is evident that the author is insufficiently familiar with Catholic doctrine and with the theologians of the mediaeval Church to interpret the work of Colet satisfactorily. This study, therefore, needs to be used with caution. (ERIC MCDERMOTT)

KLINGBERG, FRANK J. (Ed.). *Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau—1706-1717.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 220. $3.50.)

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was organized in 1701 with a view to supplying and maintaining Anglican clergymen and school teachers in the American colonies. Francis Le Jau, a Huguenot become a firm adherent of Anglicanism, was sent to South Carolina under the society's patronage. Le Jau was in charge of the parish of St. James, Goose Creek, a territory about twenty-five miles outside the small settlement of Charles Town. During his years in charge from 1706 until his death in 1717, Le Jau wrote a number of reports to the secretary of the society, and Mr. Klingberg has collected and edited these for us.

Le Jau's reports were primarily statements of the conditions of religion in his charge, but his letters were not dry recordings. Much information for a social history of the English colony can be gathered because Le Jau was conscious of all life about him. His description, e.g., of the barbaric mistreatment of slaves is most striking. He showed considerable interest in the Indians and made special pains to study their language. He was quite concerned about those who had been christianized by the Spanish friars and called in vain for missionaries from the English who had driven the friars away.

One cannot help but admire the zeal of this Protestant missionary in eighteenth-century Carolina. Interspersed among his requests for counsel on pastoral problems—what to do about baptizing the children of those who themselves refused baptism—how to persuade his communicants that they were bound to restitution of ill-gotten goods—would indicate some of the trials of life in the wilderness. Mere existing was a problem. Le Jau intimated to the society that it would be better if the clergy were single men, for, as he put it, "I make very hard shifts in my family. I have little or no help from my parishioners who have much ado to maintain themselves we hardly have a joynt of fresh meat once a week Indian corn bread and water is the common food and drink for my children with a little milk sometimes . . . this melancholy narrative is not all I suffer here." (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

LOUP, ROBERT. *Martyr in Tibet.* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc. 1956. Pp. vii, 238. $3.75.)

This biography describes the heroic attempts of the Swiss St. Bernard canons to establish a hospice along the Chinese-Tibetan border. The story centers about the missionary activities and tremendous hardships which were the lot of Father Maurice Tornay. One derives great admiration for the courageous life that the modern missionaries must submit to when working among the Chinese and Tibetans. The constant determination and indomitable perseverance of Father Tornay to preach Christ in the face of almost never ending opposition from both secular and spiritual Tibetan leaders will stir the heart of any reader. His determination to remain close to his parish (the only one in Tibet) was ultimately to cost him his life.

With such a striking personality and resourceful character to describe, the author has failed to present the facts in an interesting manner. Reader interest is lost in a maze of geographical terms that mean nothing, e.g., "From Tsechung to Yerkalo the road goes through Kiafe, up a side valley to Atuntze, over a pass and down to Dong." Many such descriptions leave the reader completely bewildered. The only map is one of Switzerland showing the vicinity of the St. Bernard Hospice, but when the plot moves to China and Tibet the reader is completely lost. There is a definite lack of continuity of thought in many places—the author jumping from one topic to another without any particular reason. An American writer, who composes one of the chapters, presents the most coherent and easy-to-follow part of the work.

If he has the hardihood to struggle through the book the reader will, at least, have a greater knowledge of the St. Bernard canons' work in Switzerland, an appreciation of the overwhelming trials facing a modern missionary in Tibet, and in particular a deep esteem for the saintly and courageous Father Tornay. The canons' apostolate in Tibet, and the life of Father Tornay, are both worthy of a more appealing work. (ALOYSIUS PLAISANCE)

MURPHY, ROLAND E., O.Carm. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible.* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 120. $1.50.)

The Dead Sea Scrolls are now a byword. The English nomenclature, for which the American editors of the original scrolls discovered in the first cave at Ain Feshka are responsible, seems to be there to stay. But the scrolls of Cave 1 were only the first fruits of a vast harvest, unfortunately for the greater part fragmentary, of an amazing number and variety of books since discovered. Nor has it ended. At the beginning of 1956 Bedouins made the discovery of further scrolls in another cave, now called Cave 11. Further details of this momentous discovery, already mentioned by Father Murphy in the book under review, are awaited with eager expectation by the scholars of the world.

The scrolls are of paramount interest for theologians and textual critics, but they are not without importance for the historian, especially the historian of

Christian origins. After all, it does make a difference whether the Christian faith was the fruit of a natural historical development, or of a divine intervention —or of both. Unfortunately, the first appraisal of the significance of the scrolls to catch the attention of the world was that of Dupont-Sommer which, for all its brilliance, was excessively subjective and tendentious. Dupont-Sommer's theories were further ventilated by Edward Wilson's popular articles in the *New Yorker*, later pubished in book form with considerable success in the English-speaking world. The idea has been mooted abroad that there is a hush-hush about the scrolls and that Christian archaeologists and theologians are afraid to draw certain inevitable conclusions from their own finds. It must be emphasized that there is no ground whatever for this contention. Father Murphy succeeds remarkably well within the compass of a short book in expounding objectively the history of the discoveries of the scrolls, the background of the sect which hid them away, the light thrown by them on both the New Testament and the Old Testament. The first chapter is particularly good, very vivid, and highly readable. The second and third chapters on the parallels between the scrolls and the Bible make rather heavy going. But the serious student who, with the aid of good translations of both the Bible and the scrolls, looks up Father Murphy's references and compares them will enjoy a rewarding experience. An amazing wealth of detail and information are condensed within the covers of this small book. It is beautifully produced, with some good illustrations, maps, and two appendixes, and the price is very reasonable. (KEVIN CONDON)

PRITCHARD, JOHN PAUL. *Criticism in America.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. x, 325. $5.00.)

Professor Pritchard has met a scholar's need by giving us in this volume a strictly historical account of American critical ideas in the field of literature. He has gone back to the beginning of the nineteenth century and summarized what American writers—those who were exclusively critics and those who were both literary artists and critics—have in the last 150 years had to say about: 1) the nature of the creative process; 2) the role of literature in our developing American culture, and 3) the relation of our literature to the past, to British and European literature, and to the possible future.

Inasmuch as literary criticism is usually philosophical, the historian finds it an unmistakable index to the cultural realities of the periods which literature reflects. Thus Professor Pritchard's book discloses the tensions between the new republic and the mother country in the early critical battles waged between them. Similarly, in the 1840's and 1850's, tensions between the North and the South stand forth plainly in the biases and prejudices which appear in northern and southern criticism. Indeed, all through American history the illusions, hopes, abandoned ideals, and solid realities of our national life can be traced in what Emerson, Poe, Whitman, Howells, James, and—latterly—the new humanists

and the new critics have written about the values they would have our literature serve.

Some of our American criticism has, of course, related more particularly to purely aesthetic matters such as the structure and texture of poetry or the technique of fiction; but most of it has moral and political content as well. Both historians and aestheticians should, therefore, find much in this book to respect. The author has used the method of restating the critical ideas he uncovers, and although his style is so clear that some of the excitement of the original critical writing is necessarily lost, a more balanced view is gained. It is as though the reader were relieved of the turgidity of the originals without losing their substance. The author covers far more aspects of most critics' significance than the scholar who goes to the originals is likely to find for himself, for the sources of Professor Pritchard's summaries comprise the magazines and periodicals of the period, the critics' correspondence, and their judgments upon one another.

Above all, Mr. Pritchard has not interposed himself as the independent critic he undoubtedly is. But it is because he thinks like a critic that he is able to rephrase so justly the critical points of view of others. (HERBERT SLUSSER)

REISENBERG, PETER N. *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Mediaeval Political Thought.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. Pp. viii, 204. $3.75.)

This book treats of the theory of inalienability as it evolved in the hands of canonists and lawyers during the five late centuries of the Middle Ages. These men were the legists of the rising national monarchies, the Roman lawyers in the service of the empire, and the canonists interested in preventing the alienation of ecclesiastical property. These theoreticians were supplemented by the publicists and apologists who utilized the legal arguments. This essay treats of the concept of office, the ecclesiastical and lay theories of inalienability with special emphasis upon the crown. It investigates thoroughly the decretal *Intellecto* which Honorius III sent in 1220 to Andrew II of Hungary, freeing that monarch from oaths which he might have taken contrary to his coronation oath which bound him to preserve intact the rights of his kingdom and the honor of the crown. In the light of this and other writings the author investigates the notion of continuity of office and state as well as examples of revocation and restraint on the basis of the theory of inalienability. While the works of Kantorowicz and David cover much of the ground taken up in this book, Professor Reisenberg seems to over-stress the influence of *Intellecto* on the whole body of thought. It is true that he often calls it the "theory of *Intellecto*," but he has not demonstrated that *Intellecto* was not merely one more reference to the theory of inalienability.

While the "emphasis in this study is upon the legal and political aspects of the theory of inalienability, not upon the theological" (preface) it is amusing to see no reference in the bibliography to *De regimine principum* of St. Thomas. While it is true that St. Thomas was a theologian, it is also true that

Dante, whose *Monarchia* is listed, is a poet. Overspecialization was not part of the mediaeval scene and it is reading history backward to pass off all the writings of St. Thomas as theological. (HENRY A. CALLAHAN)

SCHWARTZ, HAROLD. *Samuel Gridley Howe: Social Reformer, 1801-1876.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 348. $6.00.)

To those who believe that history is best presented through the lives of significant men this work will prove welcome. The career of Samuel Gridley Howe mingled such disparate events as Greek revolutions, schools for the blind, abolitionism and intrigue in Santo Domingo. Moreover, Howe's social and intellectual status enabled him to share the friendship and activities of Longfellow, Charles Sumner, John Brown and Horace Mann. Mr. Schwartz has blended all these elements into a scholarly biography based on contemporary and hitherto untouched sources. His purpose is to portray a social reformer who "answered almost every appeal from the helpless and shared in almost every fight on their behalf. . . ." The author hopes that the life of one who knew how to make his world better will have meaning for an age "racked by a sense of doom." Mr. Schwartz's approach is sympathetic, but not filiopietistic, which is remarkable considering that the truly amazing humanitarianism of Howe easily tempts one to adulation.

The early chapters set forth Howe's reform ventures in Greece, and with the deaf, dumb, blind, and mentally defective. Dr. Howe established the foremost school for the blind of that day, and his study on idiocy was authoritative for a quarter-century. The second half of the work treats abolitionism, the Civil War and Santo Domingo, with two excellent chapters on Harpers Ferry from the viewpoint of the New Englanders associated in that fiasco. All this is done in readable style. There are brief gaps, due to lack of sources duly noted, which may account for a vague feeling that the reader never really got to "know" Howe. Occasionally the theme veers from Howe to events which overshadow him, but this does not detract, for the biography of an individual is also a record of the community in which he lived.

There is no bibliography, but a note on sources refers the reader to the original dissertation, and correctly states that the copious footnotes should suffice. There is an accurate ten-page index, and the format is excellent. This volume is worthy of its place as No. 67 of the Harvard Historical Studies. (AUBERT J. CLARK)

SETH, RONALD. *The Undaunted.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. 327. $6.00.)

This book is not a specialized study, nor does its author claim to be a trained historian. *The Undaunted* was written to "give to as many people as

possible an idea of the scope of resistance." The author has consulted historians and actual participants of the resistance. His bibliography comprises memoirs of participants in the resistance as well as studies on the movement. Mr. Seth shows that in all of the countries conquered by Hitler after the outbreak of World War II there was opposition to the conqueror. As used by the author, the term resistance comprises any form of opposition to the Nazis, be it jokes, guerilla warfare, or the provision of reception committees for agents sent over by the British. The author's method of giving an idea of the scope of this resistance consists in providing examples of these feats. No judgment is made as to the relative value of the feats presented.

From this portrayal the reader receives a good impression of the differing character and problems influencing the resistance of the occupied countries. A work of such scope must necessarily limit details. The reader may, however, be somewhat startled to find the resistance of such areas as Denmark and Luxembourg described through numerous incidents while the chapter on French resistance is the slimmest in size and consists of a cursory mention of French resistance groups. One also wonders about some of the details on Yugoslav resistance. The author indicates that General Draza Mihailovits was "too evidently reluctant" to fight the Germans (p. 228). His material is admittedly drawn from Tito Partisan documents. It is doubtful, however, whether Mihailovits actually joined the Germans in January, 1943, in their fourth offensive against the Partisans, as claimed (p. 231). Communiques from the headquarters of General Mihailovits for the period February, 1944, to April, 1944 (released via press wireless) describe armed encounters with the Germans and the Bulgarians. Locations of the encounters and the number of men wounded and killed on all sides are also given.

In *The Undaunted* Ronald Seth presents the resistance in terms of an accompaniment to World War II and interprets it in terms of the contribution made to the winning of the war. This interpretation is certainly valid from the viewpoint of those engaged in waging the war. However, such an interpretation may not result in a complete presentation of the resistance itself. Certainly the scope of resistance to Hitler is limited if one ignores the opposition to the Nazi regime in Austria, the first country conquered by Nazi Germany and if, regardless of its success, no mention is made of the resistance to Hitler within Germany itself. (MADELEINE ENGEL-JANOSI)

SHAPIRO, HARRY L. *Aspects of Culture*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1956. Pp. 147. $2.75.)

In 1956 Dr. Shapiro delivered the annual Brown and Haley Lectures at the College of Puget Sound. This book makes these lectures available to a larger public. The author, who is chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and professor of anthropology at Columbia University, points out that a knowledge and understanding of our cultural

background is essential if we are to close the gap between our technological advances, power drives, and the freedom of the human spirit. Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture* argues for the integration of culture even in the face of fundamental conflicts such as those exemplified by certain primitive societies. Margaret Mead picked up this current of thought and carried it on in her provocative study of the impact of modern technical advances on traditional cultural patterns in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Changes*. But Dr. Shapiro uses a broader canvass than that of his two distinguished colleagues. His major premises are: culture has made us what we are, it affects our daily lives, our history, and it will determine our future.

The Shapiro synthesis is amazingly brief but rationally constructed, and the analysis of cultural factors is extremely lucid. However, the emphasis on the biological, evolutionary development of man and the author's preoccupation with cultural determinism detracts somewhat from the value of his contribution. The roots of our present cultural devastations are traceable to man's spiritual disorders. A really complete epitome of our current cultural heritage must take account of man's original fall and God's redemptive power. (JOSEPH F. SINZER)

YOUNG, WILLIAM J., S.J. (Translator). *St. Ignatius' Own Story. As Told to Luis González de Cámara. (With a Sampling of His Letters.)* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. xii, 138. $2.50.)

After long and continued pressure on the part of his spiritual sons to give them an account of "all that had taken place in his soul up to that moment," Saint Ignatius dictated his story to his faithful disciple, González de Cámara. Fortunately, Father de Cámara was gifted with an extraordinary memory, for the dictation took place sporadically during the two years 1553-1555. He took notes as Ignatius dictated, and later wrote them out at greater length. The saint's dictation was brief and to the point with no attempt at literary polish. It is narrated in the third person: "he" and "the Pilgrim" are Ignatius. Father Young's translation preserves the homespun quality of Ignatius' account.

The story begins in 1521 when Ignatius was twenty-six years old. Here we have the saint's own version of how he was converted by reading the lives of the saints during convalescence from a leg wound received in fighting against the French at Pamplona. Ignatius then relates the colorful adventures he experienced as he traveled to Manresa, Rome, Venice, and Jerusalem. Back in Spain again, he begins his long years of study, attracts his first companions, and gives his famous *Spiritual Exercises*. Here for the first of many times he is investigated by the Inquisition. After twice spending time in jail unjustly, he is off to the University of Paris for seven years, 1528 to 1535. After ordination to the priesthood in far-off Venice, he sets off for Rome in November, 1537. Here the story stops in mid-course, for his greatest achievements come after. There is practically nothing about the founding of the Jesuits.

As is evident, the tale is a brief one, covering only seventy pages. One wishes it were much longer, for it gives an intriguing picture of the times, the quaint ecclesiastical, scholastic, and social customs of his day. But here is also the story of a soul, with all its consolations and temptations. Loyola's story is simple and unpretentious, relating only events, with few revelations of personal feelings; yet his external conduct shows the depths of his faith and his total conquest of self. The eleven letters of varying length (totaling fifty-four pages) are a mere sampling of Ignatius' immense correspondence, but they fill out the picture obtained from the story, especially of his activities as a spiritual director. This little book is one in the Library of Living Catholic Thought series which is under the direction of West Baden College and was published in special commemoration of the Ignatian Year, the 400th anniversary of the death of the saint. The book should inspire any reader to go on to read the fuller lives of Saint Ignatius. (GENTIL KATOSKI)

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*Harvard Divinity School Bulletin. Annual Lectures and Book Reviews.* Volume Number 21. 1955-1956. (Cambridge: Harvard University. 1956. Pp. 288.) The latest volume of the *Bulletin* contains the texts of the Ingersoll and Dudleian Lectures delivered by Oscar Cullmann and Roland Bainton, respectively, on April 26, 1956; a report on New Testament studies for 1953-1955 by Krister Stendahl; "The Place of Professor Wolfson's Philosophy of the Fathers," an address by George H. Williams at a celebration of Wolfson's sixty-eighth birthday on November 2, 1955, and the guest of honor's reply; a report on the Divinity School during 1956 by Dean Douglas Horton; finally, there is a list of recent publications in the sacred sciences and reviews of books.

Hatch, Alden and Seamus Walshe. *Crown of Glory. The Life of Pope Pius XII.* (New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc. 1957. Pp. 251. $4.95.)

Helm, MacKinley. *Fray Junipero Serra. The Great Walker.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 86. $4.00.)

Helm-Pirgo, Marian. *Virgin Mary Queen of Poland (Historical Essay).* (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1957. Pp. 31. $1.25.)

Hertling, Ludwig, S.J. and Kirschbaum, Englebert, S.J. *The Roman Catacombs and Their Martyrs.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1957. Pp. xiv, 224. $3.50.)

Hopkins, J. G. E. *Colonial Governor. Thomas Dongan of New York.* Illustrated by William Wilson. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1957. Pp. 184. $2.50.) This volume is one of Kenedy's new series, American Background Books. Lives of Catholic Heroes and Heroines in American History intended for readers from ten to fifteen years of age. The author, an editor of Charles Scribner's Sons, has had long study and experience in the field of American history and knows—as the father of four children—how to tell a story that will attract young readers.

Hughes, *Philip. A Popular History of the Reformation.* (Garden City: Hanover House. 1957. Pp. 343. $4.00.)

Jebb, Eleanor and Reginald. *Belloc the Man.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. x, 172. $3.25.)

Louis-Lefebvre, M. Th. *Un Prêtre. L'Abbé Huvelin.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1956. Pp. 328. 870 fr.)

Lunt, W. E. (Deceased.) *History of England.* (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1957. Pp. xvi, 980. $7.25.) This fourth edition of Professor Lunt's well known text contains two additional chapters, a number of changes demanded by the findings of recent research, and a revision of the suggested readings.

Meehan, James (Ed.) *Centenary History of the Literary and Historical Society, 1855-1955.* (Tralee: Kerryman Ltd. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 377. $2.94.)

McKee, Samuel, Jr. (Ed.). *Alexander Hamilton's Papers on Public Credit Commerce and Finance.* [The American Heritage Series No. 18.] (New York: Liberal Arts Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 304. $1.25.)

Monsterleet, Jean, S.J. *Martyrs in China.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1957. Pp. 288. $3.75.)

Mullett, Charles F. *The Bubonic Plague and England. An Essay in the History of Preventive Medicine.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky. 1956. Pp. vii, 401. $9.00.)

Mylonas, George E. *Ancient Mycenae. The Capital City of Agamemnon.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 201. $7.50.) This volume, which is based on the Page-Barbour Lectures given by the author at the University of Virginia in 1954, is primarily concerned with the new Grave Circle discovered at Mycenae in 1951 and systematically excavated in 1952-1954. The author himself participated in the excavation. His work constitutes a valuable supplement to A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae,* published by the same press in 1949. The book is furnished with forty-eight plates containing eighty-seven separate illustrations or plans, and with a good index.

Neumark, S. Daniel. *The South African Frontier. (Economic Influences, 1652-1836).* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 196. $5.00.) This volume is Miscellaneous Publication 12 of Stanford's Food Research Institute and has been written by the institute's acting economist.

Oliver, E. J. *Coventry Patmore.* (New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc. 1956. Pp. 211. $4.00.)

Ong, Walter J., S.J. *Frontiers in American Catholicism. Essays on Ideology and Culture.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1957. Pp. viii, 125. $2.50.)

Orbe, Antonio, S.J. *Los Primeros Herejes ante la Persecucion. Estudios Valentinianos.* Vol. V. (Rome: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae. 1956. Pp. x, 314.) This is Volume LXXXIII of the Series Facultatis Theologicae of the Gregorian University, Rome.

Pacaut, Marcel. *Alexandre III. (Etude sur la Conception du Pouvoir Pontifical dans sa Pensée et dans son Oeuvre.)* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1956. Pp. 416.)

Parkin, Charles. *The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 145. $2.50.)

Paul, Leon (Ed.). *The Vatican Picture Book. A Picture Pilgrimage.* (New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc. 1957. $2.95.)

Payne, Robert. *The Holy Fire. The Story of the Fathers of the Eastern Church.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1957. Pp. xxii, 313. $5.00.)

Peterson, Theodore. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. x, 457. $6.50.)

Peare, Catherine Owens. *William Penn. A Biography.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1957. Pp. 448. $6.00.)

Pérez de Urbel, Justo, O.S.B. *St. Paul. The Apostle of the Gentiles.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 430. $5.00.)

Plumb, J. H. (Ed.) *Studies in Social History.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. xv, 287. 21s.)

Quattlebaum, Paul. *The Land Called Chicora. The Carolinas under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 153. $3.75.)

Rauch, Basil (Ed.). *Franklin D. Roosevelt. Speeches, Messages, Press Conferences and Letters.* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 391. $1.25.) The contents of this volume extend in time from a letter of F.D.R. to his mother in the spring of 1888 to excerpts from an unfinished address prepared for Jefferson Day, April 13, 1945.

Reverdin, Olivier. *Quatorze Calvinistes chez les Topinambous Histoire d'une mission genevoise au Brésil (1556-1558).* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz. 1957. Pp. 110.) This volume is a critical study of the principal sources extant on this early Calvinist mission in Brazil.

Salem, Elie Adib. *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij.* (Series LXXIV in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science; a monograph on the least known of the significant sects of early Islam). (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1956. Pp. 117.)

Sellers, Charles Grier, Jr. *James K. Polk. Jacksonian, 1795-1843.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 526. $7.50.)

Shapiro, Harry L. *Aspects of Culture.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1956. Pp. 147. $2.75.)

Simon, A. *L'Hypothese Liberale en Belgique. Documents inedits, 1839-1907.* (Wetteren: Editions Scaldis. 1956. Pp. 381.)

*Sixteenth-Century Maps Relating to Canada. A Check-List and Bibliography.* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 283. $2.50.) Besides the check list and bibliography this volume carries eight illustrations and an index.

Somervel, D. C. *A Study of History by Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgement of Volumes VII-X.* (New York and London: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. 414. $5.00.) Mr. Somervell has abridged the last four volumes of Toynbee's work with the same comeptence that he exhibited in his abridgement of Volumes I-VI. Furthermore a section entitled "Argument" (pp. 355-393) is an excellent digest of the whole ten volumes of *A Study of History.* The book has a good index.

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Stipp, John L. (Ed.). *Soviet Russia Today: Patterns and Prospects.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1951. Pp. xii, 270. $3.00.) A volume for beginners with selections from the works of Marx, Stalin, *et al.*, and, too, from the specialized accounts of Florinsky, Cole, Deutscher, *et al.* The editor is a professor of history in Knox College.

Stratmann, Francis M., O.P. *War & Christianity Today.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 134. $3.00.) In seven brief chapters Father Stratmann analyzes the moral problems connected with war in our time, the role of the Church, and the United Nations, and also Pius XII's Christmas address of 1948.

Sykes, Norman. *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. 278.)

Tillotson, Geoffrey. *Newman, Prose and Poetry.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. 842. $6.00.)

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